

## GOD'S LIVING LETTERS

BY KIRBY PAGE

Embarrassment caused Phillips Brooks to enter the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia. He had made such a miserable failure of his work in Boston that he could no longer face his friends.

The future bishop was born in 1835, and died at the early age of fifty-eight. ~~He came from a long line of distinguished ancestors on both sides of the family.~~ At ~~the~~ age of fifteen he entered Harvard, and was graduated with an average record. He then accepted a position as teacher in the highly select Boston Latin School. Within four months he resigned, because of inability to maintain order in his classes. ~~His father sadly wrote in the record: "The task was too much for Phillips and he is now looking for work."~~

For months Phillips shunned his friends, so keen was his mortification. Suddenly he dropped out of sight, and word reached Boston that he had entered the seminary in Virginia. Prior to his failure, he had never made a conscious or public commitment of his life to Christ and had not thought seriously about becoming a minister.

After graduation he became rector of the Church of the Advent in Philadelphia, at the age of twenty-four. A decade later he began his famous ministry at Trinity Church in Boston, which lasted for twenty-two years. In 1891 he was elected Bishop of Massachusetts.

Six feet, four inches in height, Phillips Brooks was huge in size, with a massive head. All accounts agree that he possessed winsomeness of personal charm, warmth of kindly spirit, and compassionate concern for individuals. His own spiritual experience ran deep. He preached with simplicity and fervor, and wielded a mighty influence over those who heard him. From failure as a teacher, he rose to the pinnacle of the foremost preacher in the land. And millions are indebted to him for his Christmas song, "O Little Town of Bethlehem."

No. 255

G O D ' S     L I V I N G     L E T T E R S

BY KIRBY PAGE

That the darkest hour may come just before dawn is illustrated in the life of George Frederick Handel, one of the greatest musicians of all time. At the age of fifty-six, he announced in despair that his last concert would be given on April 8, 1741. Twenty weeks later he began composing "The Messiah," and completed it during the period August 22-September 14.

Handel was a German who became a naturalized citizen of England. He was born in 1685 and died in 1759. His father was a barber-surgeon who served with various armies. He had nothing but contempt for music, and endeavored to prevent George Frederick from becoming a musician. Secretly the boy practiced. He was such a natural prodigy that a prince prevailed upon his father to permit him to study under a master musician.

His first opera was produced at the age of twenty, and by 1741 he had composed more than forty operas. He came to London at the age of twenty-five, and became naturalized in 1726. During 1737 his theater closed its doors, bankrupt, and he was smitten with temporary paralysis. His creditors seized him and he was threatened with imprisonment. Only the disgrace of a public benefit performance in his behalf kept him from prison.

In desperation, Handel accepted an invitation to give a series of concerts in Ireland. There he was received with enthusiasm. On April 12, 1742, the first performance of "The Messiah" took place. Nine years later he was stricken with blindness. ~~He continued to give concerts, but in 1759 his powers failed him in the middle of a movement.~~ He expressed a hope that he might die on Good Friday. His wish was fulfilled, and on Holy Saturday he passed into the beyond, leaving behind him an imperishable legacy of immortal music.

No. 266

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by Kirby Page

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*War* X

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By Kirby Page

### **“Blessed Are the Meek, for They Shall Inherit the Earth”**

This Beatitude is looked upon as completely false by the military mind of our generation. The communist mind likewise scorns it as sentimental nonsense. It is maintained that a Hitler will rule the earth unless he is overthrown by violence; a Stalin will stretch his poisonous tentacles across the continents unless his violence is confronted with superior violence.

The aggressiveness and ruthlessness of Soviet foreign policy makes it easy for Americans to put their trust in armed might. Russia is ruled by a dictatorship of the Communist party. Its leaders have long been schooled in violence and class war. Deceit and treachery are acknowledged weapons of combat. The Russian government works through Communist parties in other lands, and wherever possible destroys existing governments and establishes Communist dictatorships. The steady expansion of the Kremlin's power over neighboring states is causing extreme apprehension throughout the earth. So obvious is the terrible guilt of Soviet leaders that it is unnecessary to devote more space to its demonstration.

Millions of people in our time live by the faith that “the only way a nation can be safe is to be adequately prepared for war.” That violence alone is sufficiently powerful to overcome violence is a widely accepted idea. Any other way of dealing with tyranny is sneered at as appeasement. So the nations are spending their money on that which they trust, and the race of armaments becomes steadily more extreme. Thirty billion dollars a year are now being

spent in atomic, bacterial and other forms of preparedness for war. Power of retaliation is relied upon as more potent than forgiveness. "Practical" and "realistic" men place low estimate upon meekness as a way of dealing with evildoers.

Yet men who trust in violence never feel secure. Military preparedness is never sufficient. Always the cry is for bigger appropriations and larger armed forces. There is ample justification for the observation of a British statesman in the nineteenth century that if military men were given their head they would strive for military bases on the Moon as defense against Mars. During the years from 1911 to 1915 when the Kaiser was rattling the sword, the average annual expenditure for the army and navy of the United States was less than one-third of a billion, as contrasted with the expenditure during the present fiscal year of about fifteen billions. And the end is not yet. Military men are uttering solemn warnings that the annual budget for national defense of the United States must be increased to twenty billions and perhaps to twenty-five billions. And fear was never so deep and so widespread throughout the earth as in this day when the nations are squandering their substance on armaments.

## II.

There is reason therefore to examine more carefully the idea that the meek shall inherit the earth. The dictionary defines meekness as "mild of temper; not easily provoked or irritated; patient under injuries; not vain, or haughty; or resentful." As translated by Professor Easton this Beatitude reads: "Blessed are the gentle, for they shall inherit the Promised Land." In order to grasp its full meaning we must look upon meekness in its proper setting, as part of a way of life described in all the Beatitudes. We will do well then to read again:

—4—

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.

"Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account . . .

"You are the salt of the earth . . . You are the light of the world."

These ideas about the good life were embedded in the behavior of our Lord and therefore the best definition of meekness is Christlikeness. Meekness is humility, gentleness, concern for others as contrasted with zeal for one's own rights, forgiveness rather than retaliation, willingness to suffer rather than to inflict pain. Meekness is Christlikeness. Meekness is confidence in the power of goodness. Meekness is willingness to be crucified on the cross rather than to rebel against the will of God.

The idea that the meek shall inherit the earth is far older than the words of Jesus. In the 37th Psalm we read:

"For yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be:

—5—

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— 5 —

Yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and he shall not be.  
But the meek shall inherit the land,  
And shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace . . .  
The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow . . .  
Their sword shall enter their own heart . . .  
For the arms of the wicked shall be broken . . .  
But the wicked shall perish."

Thus it appears from primitive writings that the meek shall inherit the earth because Jehovah will smite the wicked. These early writers portrayed a God of vengeance. Gradually the concept of God becomes more exalted. Amos talks of the justice of God. Hosea speaks of the love of God. Isaiah is overwhelmed by the holiness of God. Jeremiah finds the God of the individual soul. The Second Isaiah bows before the suffering God.

The Christian conviction is that God is most clearly revealed in Jesus. "Many were the forms and fashions in which God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets, but in these days at the end he has spoken to us by a Son . . . He, reflecting God's bright glory and stamped with God's own character, sustains the universe with his word of power" (Heb. 1:1-3 Moffatt).

When Jesus said that the meek shall inherit the earth, he meant something very different from the Psalmist's similar words. He knew God to be a loving Father who loves all his children everywhere with all the fullness of divine affection, who makes the sun shine and the rain fall upon the righteous and upon the wicked, whose will is that not one of them should perish. In place of Lamech's cry for vengeance seventy times seven is God's own attitude of forgiveness seventy times seven, for God is as good as Jesus. In urging his disciples to love their ene-

mies, our Lord gave as his reason: "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Jesus portrayed a God of integrity whose ways are dependable. The law of the harvest operates inexorably. Reaping comes from sowing. "Are grapes gathered from thorns, or figs from thistles?" In the parable of the Last Judgment, Jesus showed the relationship between daily living and ultimate destiny. The separation of sheep from goats was consequence, not punitive judgment. ". . . for I was hungry and you gave me food . . . for I was hungry and ye gave me no food." Day by day we become sheep or goats. Attitudes and actions become bricks in the foundations of life. Sometimes we are "like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell: and great was the fall of it."

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," because we live in a moral universe, where all the processes are dependable and where sowing determines reaping. False foundations collapse. "Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven." In all our doings we are passing judgment upon ourselves. We are becoming sheep or goats. "Now the works of the flesh are plain: immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness carousing, and the like. I warn you, as I did warn you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law." (Galatians 5:19-23). "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Reverence for personality is essential to the noblest

living. Every person is created in the spiritual image of God and is infinitely precious to our divine Father. For every individual God desires abundant life which shall have no end. Every man is my brother, a beloved member of our Father's home. I am therefore called upon to love him as I love myself. Thus I must treat him with respect, with reverence as a holy temple of God, a sacred altar of the Eternal.

By this test of the highest quality of meekness every life can be measured with accuracy. By the degree of reverence for personality every society and every civilization can be evaluated. In a moral universe, reverence for personality yields a glorious harvest, whereas ruthlessness toward persons brings forth desolation and disintegration.

This truth is illustrated in the change which took place in the Christian Church after the so-called conversion of Constantine. The early Christians took seriously the example and teaching of Jesus. He had lived all his days upon the earth in a warlike situation. His people were victims of tyranny and exploitation. When they rebelled against the invader, they were massacred or crucified or sold as slaves. The land was full of Zealots, passionate patriots who must have pleaded with Jesus to show reverence for the personality of victimized countrymen by taking up arms and by reliance upon God in driving out the Romans. This appeal to the doctrine that the end justifies the means was rejected by Jesus. It is unthinkable that he should have consented to or participated in the killing of God's children the Romans. Indeed, there is no escaping the conclusion that if Jesus had used military weapons and had killed Romans, he could not have become the Redeemer of mankind. The military way and the way of the cross are utterly irreconcilable.

The early Christian Church took Jesus seriously

and provided a superb illustration of meekness. "Behold how these Christians love one another," was the exclamation of many a pagan in those days. And they loved their enemies also. The extent to which they refrained from hatred toward their persecutors has rarely been equaled. They responded to the admonition of Paul: "Your love must be genuine . . . Bless your persecutors; bless them; do not curse them . . . If your enemy is hungry, feed him. If he is thirsty, give him something to drink. For if you do so, you will heap burning coals upon his head. Do not be conquered by evil, but conquer evil with good." (Romans 12:9, 14, 20, 21 Goodspeed).

Members of the early church lived this way in spite of ruthless persecution over a long period. "The wheat of God" became a familiar description as they cast away their lives in the arena with wild beasts. The historian Lecky well says: "Noble lives, crowned by heroic deaths, were the best arguments of the infant church. Their enemies themselves not infrequently acknowledged it."

If it had not actually happened, nobody could possibly believe it. That the religion of an obscure teacher in a conquered province, who himself was shamefully crucified as a common criminal, should spread within three centuries, in spite of vigorous opposition and bitter persecution, so rapidly that it became the official religion of the mightiest empire of all the earth: this is simply incredible. Truly "the meek shall inherit the earth."

### III

Then came the period of growing success and increasing dilution. Compromise and evasion became widespread. The climax was reached under the Emperor Constantine. Within a single generation Christianity was transformed from a despised and illegal

status into an established and exalted position with imperial patronage and under imperial control. The religion of the crucified Redeemer became a religion of war and bloodshed. Henceforth the Roman legions fought under the banner of the Cross and carried the monogram of Christ on their shields, in place of the imperial eagle. When his mother Helena brought from Jerusalem two nails which were supposed to have been taken from Jesus' Cross, Constantine used one on his helmet and the other on the bridle of his war charger. By the year 416 only Christians were allowed to serve in the army!

For hundreds of years the Christian Church used torture in dealing with heretics. Both Catholics and Protestants resorted to extreme measures of cruelty. The Catholic Inquisition was founded as an instrument of mercy and was usually administered by men of purest intent and most ardent zeal. Christians who believe in capital punishment should not find it difficult to understand the motives of the Inquisitors. In that day heresy was regarded as a greater crime than treason. The belief was universal that only orthodox members of the church could be saved. No worse fate could possibly befall a man than to die outside the church. And no one could remain in the church unless he accepted the beliefs and practices of that institution.

Thus it was that for centuries a reign of terror prevailed. The faithful were required to be informants against heretical sons; wives were bound to disclose the apostasy of their husbands. Toleration of heresy was regarded as the worst of sins. Pity and compassion for the disbelievers were looked upon as sinful.

On the other hand, Roman Catholics list two hundred and fifty-three martyrs in England from 1535 to 1681. Burning at the stake, hanging, quartering were used by Henry VIII in disposing of clergymen

who denied his supremacy over the church. Dorothy Trask died in 1645 after having spent fifteen years in prison for the crime of regarding Saturday as the Sabbath. Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians, and other dissenters were punished ruthlessly. In Puritan America heretics were placed in the stocks, lodged in jail, whipped behind ox-carts, maimed, banished, or executed. In 1660 four Quakers were hanged in Boston.

During all the centuries since the so-called conversion of Constantine, Christians have waged wars—religious wars, feudalistic wars, dynastic wars, nationalistic wars, imperialistic wars. For two hundred years the Crusades were waged against the Saracens. No one hundred per cent patriot can possibly be as deeply outraged by the desecration of his nation's flag as pious churchmen were scandalized by pagan pollution of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The officials of the church went to the wildest extremes in seeking to arouse Christendom. Before a vast assembly in 1097 Pope Urban cried out: "If you must have blood, bathe your hands in the blood of infidels. I speak to you harshly, because my ministry obliges me to do so: soldiers of hell become soldiers of the living God."

The ferocity with which the Christian armies fought and the ruthlessness with which they slaughtered their foes have rarely been surpassed in the history of warfare. The capture of Jerusalem at the conclusion of the First Crusade was accompanied by deeds of wildest savagery on the part of the Christian soldiers. "Neither age nor sex were spared. Children's brains were dashed out against the stones, or their living bodies were whirled in demonical sports from the walls. Women were outraged." In a letter to the Pope, Godfrey said that in Solomon's Porch and in the Temple the Crusaders rode in Saracen blood up to the knees of their horses. At the siege

of Nicaea the Crusaders cut off the heads of a thousand prisoners and hurled them from catapults over the walls of the city. In describing the capture of the fortress, Anselme of Ribemont wrote to the Archbishop of Rheims: "Our men, returning in victory and bearing many heads fixed upon pikes, furnished a joyful spectacle for the people of God."

A library of volumes would be required to record the story of wars which have been waged with the sanction and support of the authorities of the various churches during the past 1600 years. All the wars waged by the United States have been supported by a large majority of all churchmen. In the Revolutionary War the Christians of the Colonies were divided in sentiment but agreed in their judgment concerning the righteousness of war. Christian Tories supported the British and Christian rebels fought in the ranks of Washington.

During the Civil War few indeed were the pacifists. Churchmen in general supported the Union armies or the Confederate armies, depending upon the section in which they were residing. *The Boston Review* solemnly said: "There has been nothing yet found among men like the smell of gunpowder, for making a nation perceive the fragrance of divinity in truth . . . No people ever did, or ever could, feel the power of Christian principle growing up like an inspiration through the national manhood, until the worth of it had been thundered on the battlefield." *The New Orleans Christian Advocate* cried out: "The truth is, it is a religious war . . . Southern people feel profoundly that they are fighting for the only true Christian civilization they can enjoy . . . Southern men defend slavery now upon the same principles and with the same spirit as they do their religion, their homes, their wives and children, their personal honour and independence."

The Indian Wars received the sanction and sup-

port of Christians in overwhelming proportions. Only the Quakers and a few other dissenters were opposed to war against the red man. In Pennsylvania the Quakers lived peacefully with the Indians. Over a span of seventy-five years not a single Quaker was killed by an Indian. Elsewhere the fighting was bitter and prolonged. The red man vigorously objected to the steady encroachments of white men upon his soil. Frequently white settlements were decimated by pitiless attacks. Torture of victims was not uncommon.

Even when Indian atrocities were in retaliation for attacks by white armed forces, the Indian wars were supported with vigor and enthusiasm. Professor Beard reminds us that following the Civil War there were "more than a thousand armed clashes, many desperate and deadly, a few disastrous to federal troops, all pointing pitilessly to the expulsion of the red man from lands coveted by farmers, prospectors, and railway builders. 'There are no good Indians,' exclaimed General Phillip Sheridan, 'except dead Indians.' President Hayes, in a message to Congress in 1877, said: 'Many, if not most of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part."

The record of the churches during the Spanish-American War was highly belligerent. Most Christians found it easy to justify the war because the liberation of the Cubans from tyranny was so praiseworthy. That the end justified the means seemed obvious. Churchmen in general were infected by the warlike spirit engendered by William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer and other yellow journalists. In Kansas City a shoemaker was mobbed because he hung crape upon his shop door with the notice, "Closed in memory of a Christian nation that descends to the barbarity of war." In Philadelphia the Universal Peace Union was thrown out of its of-

fice and Alfred Love was burned in effigy and the charred dummy riddled with bullets and drawn through the streets. At the Mohonk arbitration conference, the chairman requested that no mention be made of the war then raging.

The popularity of Theodore Roosevelt, the Rough Rider, brilliantly reflects the spirit of the period. Later the wielder of The Big Stick was to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The most jingoistic and imperialistic of all our presidents, "Teddy," as he was affectionately known, loathed pacifists and gloried in militarism. In 1895 he wrote to Senator Lodge: "This country needs a war," but added that "the bankers, brokers and anglomaniacs generally seemed to favor "peace at any price." Meekness was not the most highly valued virtue at the turn of the century.

In the First World War the churches in all belligerent lands gave patriotic support to the respective governments. German Christians and French Christians and British Christians were alike in the fervor with which they waged war. In all America could be found only a tiny fraction of pacifists. Among the men called to the colors, there were fewer than 4,000 conscientious objectors, and of these only 450 refused to accept some form of alternate service. The prevailing spirit of clergymen was expressed in this utterance: "The complete representative of the American Church in France is the United States Army overseas. Yes, an army, with its cannon and rifle and machine-guns, and its instruments of destruction. The Church militant, sent, morally equipped, strengthened and encouraged, approved and blessed, by the Church at home. The army today is the Church in action, transforming the will of the Church into deeds, expressing the moral judgment of the Church in smashing blows. Its worship has its vigil in the trenches, and its fasts and feasts; its

prayers are in acts, and its choir is the crash of cannon and the thrilling ripple of machine guns." Ray Abrams published hundreds of these warlike utterances in his book, *Preachers Present Arms*. In those days few sermons were preached from the text, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

During World War II the pacifist movement was much stronger in the British Isles and in the United States than ever before in history. But at its peak it enrolled only a small fraction of the membership of the churches. Even among Quakers and Brethren, the proportion of their young men going into the armed forces was far higher than those in CPS camps and in jail for refusing all forms of conscription. An extremely high percentage of youth leaders of the churches put on military and naval uniforms. Many of them went into the air service, where they participated in countless bombing missions in Europe and in Japan. These young Christians like the remainder of the armed forces used the weapons of modern war, including obliteration bombing of civilian populations. By the use of high explosives and fire they reduced a hundred cities to ashes and desolation.

That modern war is itself atrocity is known by all those who participated in it. Many of us have heard veterans tell their experiences in language similar to these words from a soldier printed in *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1946: "What kind of war do civilians suppose we fought anyway? We shot prisoners in cold blood, wiped out hospitals, strafed life-boats, killed or mistreated enemy civilians, finished off the enemy wounded, tossed the dying into a hole with the dead, and in the Pacific boiled the flesh off enemy skulls to make table ornaments for sweethearts, or carved their bones into letter openers. We topped off our saturation bombing and burning of

enemy civilians by dropping atomic bombs on two nearly defenseless cities, thereby setting an all-time record for instantaneous mass slaughter."

From the days of Constantine down to Hiroshima, a vast majority of all Christians have consented to war and have supported it with patriotic devotion. There has not been a single exception within Christendom, not even in a case of civil war. The churches have sanctioned all wars and both sides of every civil war. Minorities have opposed all these wars, but in every case the majority has supported the war.

#### IV

And this distressing record has not yet come to an end. Churchmen in large majorities still believe in preparedness for war. With the consent or acquiescence of a huge proportion of Christians, our government continues to manufacture atomic bombs and to prepare to wage war with bacterial weapons. In a recent article in *United Nations World*, Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, USN Retired, wrote: "There are today in the arsenals of the great powers, weapons—chemical, biological, and climatological,—more devastating than the atomic bomb, capable of exterminating the last vestige of human, animal and vegetable life from the earth. They are being manufactured at this moment." Dr. Albert Einstein was more moderate when he said that in the event of another world war the belligerents would have power enough to kill 1,200,000,000 human beings, or two-thirds of the human race.

One of the most serious aspects of the present crisis is the complacency with which a substantial proportion of the American people look upon their preparedness to wage war with these weapons of annihilation. The race of armaments itself is deplored, but the entire responsibility for it is placed upon the Kremlin. The people of the United States are so

vividly aware of the aggressive and ruthless policy of the Soviet Union, and are so fearful of Russia's further expansion, that they find it easy to justify the most extreme measures of armed preparedness.

The American people in large majorities are increasingly aware of the nature of modern warfare. They are more than vaguely conscious that we are getting ready to annihilate a considerable proportion of the human race, but they are confident that war can be averted if we are sufficiently well armed and sufficiently resolute in opposing further aggression on Russia's part. Their faith is in the obliterating power of military might, faith to the extent of fifteen billion dollars per year for armed preparedness.

So feeble is faith in any procedure except preparedness to retaliate that conciliatory efforts have been almost entirely abandoned. Little effort is being made to win the Politburo to the ways of peace. The assumption is general that it is hopeless to moderate the aggressiveness and ruthlessness of Stalin and his colleagues. Complacency concerning our armed preparedness is deepened by the conviction that we tried a policy of friendship and cooperation and were met with ingratitude and treachery. Much emphasis is placed upon Lend-Lease, UNRRA, appeasement at Yalta and Moscow and Berlin, and the invitation to Russia to participate in the Marshall Plan. There is widespread feeling in the United States that the Baruch plan of placing atomic energy under the control of the United Nations was fair and generous.

Something akin to despair about our relations with the Soviet Union is settling down upon the American people. The "get-tough" policy is highly popular and increasing reliance is being placed in our power to retaliate. The result of all this is a godless American foreign policy. Godless means without God, without taking Him into account, without concern to do His will. In all the discussion of what to

do about Russia, there are to be found only rare instances of search for divine wisdom. The discussion proceeds as if there is no God. Thus the professed atheism of Moscow is matched by the pragmatic atheism of Washington. That the meek shall inherit the earth is an idea which has never entered the communist mind or the military mind. The prevailing faith may thus be expressed: "Blessed are those who possess preponderant military might, for they shall dominate the earth."

So deep and widespread is faith in armed preparedness that the race of armaments is rapidly becoming more precipitous. The people of the earth are now spending thirty billion dollars per year in preparedness to annihilate a substantial part of the human race. This race cannot bring security to the Russian people or to the American people. It will be accompanied by propaganda and ever-deepening suspicion, fear and enmity. Quarrels between the Soviet Union and the United States are certain to increase as the race becomes more furious. Incidents will multiply. Year after year the feeling of the inevitability of war will become fatalistic. The determination on the part of military men "to get the jump" on the enemy will become more resolute. The whole earth will become an exposed power mine waiting to be ignited. And then—let General Eisenhower provide the answer, as he talks with a correspondent of the *New York Times*: "I believe no great country, including Russia, deliberately provokes a war. Wars are stupid and can be stupidly started. Some stupid act might bring it about—or a deadlock in some international situation from which neither side could find a possible retreat."

Let this truth be hammered into the consciousness of mankind. **WARS ARE STUPID AND CAN BE STARTED STUPIDLY!** If the race of armaments continues at an accelerated pace for another

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ten years, and the peoples of the earth spend 300 billion dollars upon preparedness to obliterate, and suspicion and fear and passion become more extreme, and quarrels continue to multiply, some stupid blunder will precipitate the third world war.

"The meek shall inherit the earth." "Do not be deceived, God is not mocked, whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." ". . . and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it."

"So shall Babylon, the splendour of empires,  
the proud glory of the Chaldeans,  
fare as Sodom and Gomorrah fared,  
when God overthrew them.

Never shall it be tenanted,  
forlorn from age to age;  
there no nomads pitch their tents,  
no shepherds fold their flocks;  
wild cats shall litter there,  
and jackals fill the houses,  
ostriches shall live there,  
and wild goats shall leap,  
hyenas howl within the castles,  
wolves inside the lordly halls.

And this, her doom, is near,  
her days shall not be long."

(Isaiah 13:19-22 Moffatt).

"It has happened before.  
Strong men put up a city and got  
a nation together,  
And paid singers to sing and women  
to warble: We are the greatest city,  
the greatest nation,  
nothing like us ever was.  
And while the singers sang

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and the strong men listened  
and paid the singers well,  
    there were rats and lizards who listened  
    . . . and the only listeners left now  
    are . . . the rats . . . and the lizards.  
And there are black crows  
    crying, 'Caw, caw,'  
    bringing mud and sticks  
    building a nest  
    over the words carved  
    on the doors where the panels were cedar  
    and the strips on the panels were gold  
    and the golden girls came singing:  
    We are the greatest city,  
    the greatest nation:  
    nothing like us ever was.

The only singers now are crows crying, 'Caw, caw,'  
And the sheets of rain whine in the wind and door-  
ways.

And the only listeners now are . . . the rats . . . and  
the lizards."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Toynbee reminds us that sixteen civilizations have already perished. Listen to his summary: "That 'Militarism' is suicidal is a proposition which will hardly be disputed by any one whose opinion carries weight . . . In an empirical survey of a considerable range we have seen how frequently the fatal discord takes this 'vertical' form of destructive warfare between states. Indeed, in no less than fourteen out of the sixteen cases in which we can pronounce with assurance that a broken-down civilization has brought the break-down upon itself, we have found that a reckless indulgence in the crime of inter-state warfare has been the main line of suicidal activity."<sup>2</sup>

1. "Four Preludes on Playthings of the Wind," from SMOKE AND STEEL by Carl Sandburg, copyright, 1920, by Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.

2. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 4, p. 640, vol. 5, p. 17. Published by Oxford University Press, New York.

Let the fact be emphasized that in the cases of fourteen out of sixteen civilizations which have committed suicide, A RECKLESS INDULGENCE IN THE CRIME OF INTER-STATE WARFARE HAS BEEN THE MAIN LINE OF SUICIDAL ACTIVITY. Members of this generation will do well to heed the warning of history because our own civilization is especially frail and vulnerable. Western civilization is highly industrialized and highly urbanized. In the United States 50 million people live in the 100 largest cities, while 16 millions reside in the five metropolitan centers of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and Los Angeles. Urban communities are highly vulnerable. Their people depend upon efficient transportation.

Under conditions of modern warfare, cities may be demolished and systems of transportation paralyzed. Whereas the first primitive atomic bombs demolished an area of three square miles, the infinitely more powerful atomic bombs now on hand could demolish three hundred square miles. Consider what it means to say that one atomic bomb could demolish the buildings in an area seventeen miles by seventeen miles. Evidence gained from the under-water explosion of a primitive type of atomic bomb makes it clear that if one of the new type were exploded in the deep water of a harbor or a lake, sufficient radioactive energy would be released to kill most of the people within an area fifty miles by fifty miles. The people living in a vastly larger area would be decimated if warfare were waged by using atomic clouds and bacterial weapons.

Scientists are telling us that within a decade or two it is probable that the number of atomic bombs in the hands of belligerents will exceed 10,000, if the race of armaments continues. In the official army publication, *Armed Forces Talk*, we read: "We are making progress in developing push-button weapons

... Over a year ago, a drone bomber crossed the Pacific successfully from Hawaii to the mainland. (Drone aircraft are a type of guided missile. Just as a drone bee lives by the work of others, a drone plane is operated, by radio, from the ground or from another plane.) More recently, a pilotless C-54 made an amazing flight across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to England and back... We shall undoubtedly have some of the 'Buck Rogers' weapons in the form of rockets, short-range missiles, and improved aircraft... We can expect to develop more powerful and more accurate bombs. We can probably develop, also, radioactive materials to be used as dust sprays, with effects similar to the radiation, or poisoning, of atomic bombs but without the blast and heat... In the next few years, atomic explosives may be adapted to short range missiles such as rockets, suitable for firing against land targets from surface vessels and submarines."

**Wars are stupid and can be stupidly started! A reckless indulgence in the crime of inter-state warfare has been the main line of suicidal activity! If we are capable of learning anything from history and from an observation of the facts of life, we must realize that the nations are now heading straight for the cataclysmic conflict which will destroy western civilization.**

## V

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." There is another way to live than to depend upon violence and obliteration bombing. The will of God can be discovered and by his help we can do what he wants us to do. It is possible to catch the spirit of Christ and to walk in his way. The individual can begin to live this way himself and can win others to the way of his Lord. Citizens can commit themselves to right policies and can entreat their

government to adopt and follow the ways of peace and friendship. The individual can begin in his own life without delay. This day he can function as an evangelist and as an alert citizen.

The place to begin is by concentrating upon the answer to the right question: what does God want us to do here and now? What does God want us to do? The vital question is not: how can we stop Russia? It will be fatal to become obsessed with the question: how can we guarantee the security of our own country? It is extremely important that Russia be stopped, but stopped in a way that does not destroy civilization. It is important that America be made safe, but this cannot be done except by following the ways of peace. And to know what these ways are, we must find the will of God and be guided by the mind of Christ.

In another pamphlet published recently under the title *What Does God Want Us to Do About Russia*, I developed a five-point program as follows: 1. Assume responsibility for helping to moderate the aggressiveness and belligerency of the Soviet Union. 2. Take the initiative in stopping the race of armaments. 3. Spend billions on world reconstruction, including substantial aid to Russia and Eastern European countries. 4. Strengthen the United Nations. 5. Run the risks of depending upon mutual aid. The truth of the matter is that the United States can never be safe until Soviet Russia is also safe. There is One World because there is One Father of us all and we are brethren.

The Russian leaders are behaving as men act when they are engaged in war. There is little likelihood that their attitudes will be changed so long as they continue to believe that they are waging war. Therefore, if shooting war is to be averted, and if Russia's warlike policy is to be changed, we must stop fighting with propaganda and with political and eco-

nomic weapons. The Kremlin's belligerency might be moderated if the people and government of the United States would show deep concern for the safety and prosperity of the Russian people. An entirely different attitude on our part is essential to any reversal of their hostile attitudes and actions. Reconciliation is possible only through concern, concern for their security and for their standard of living. We must therefore put forth every effort to prove the depth of our concern.

It would have been disastrous for Jesus to have devoted himself primarily to answering the question: how can my country be delivered from the tyranny of Roman occupation and rule? It was important for the Jews to recover their freedom, but it was far more important for them to do what God wanted them to do.

God wants all his children to live lives of meekness. It is his will that we live today as good members of his Home, that we love him totally and that we love his people as we love ourselves and as we love him. God wants us to treat persons with respect and with the reverence due them as temples of the Holy Spirit of God within. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control."

The desperate need of the hour is for faith, faith to believe in the way of Christ enough to follow it, faith to believe that "the meek shall inherit the earth." Secularism—godlessness, life without taking God into account—is sweeping across the earth at an appalling pace. Christian virtues are being sneered at and the Christian way of life is being scorned by vast multitudes of human beings in many lands. We hear the *Saturday Review of Literature* crying out: "Mankind as a whole now lives in a state of utmost peril; a state never even approximated in human

history since the slow invasion of the glaciers during the Ice Ages."

## VI

What can an individual do, what can one person do in the face of world convulsion?

He can help to disentangle the churches from the war system. Before we can expect governments to abandon the race of armaments, the churches must make a complete break with the system of preparedness to obliterate multitudes of God's people in other lands with atomic and bacterial weapons. Too long have the churches blindly followed governments into war. The appalling threat now menacing the very existence of civilization requires bold and drastic action on the part of the churches. They must declare in ringing and unequivocal tones that they will no longer sanction the race of armaments and that they will never approve of another war.

The fact that preparations are now being made for total war makes it easier for the churches to break completely with the war system. Emphasis upon the changed nature of warfare was placed in the Theogians' Report at the end of 1944. The twenty-six members of this commission, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, including Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop Angus Dun, Henry P. Van Dusen, John Bennett, Umphrey Lee, John A. Mackay and B. Harvie Branscomb, were unanimous in declaring: "All of us agree that in war time some practices cannot be regarded by the church as justifiable: the killing of prisoners, of hostages, or of refugees to lessen military handicaps or to gain military advantages; the torture of prisoners or of hostages to gain military information, however vital; the massacre of civilian populations . . . On the basic principle that the Church cannot acquiesce in the supremacy of military considera-

tions even in war time, nor in the view that modern war may properly, even in case of extreme peril to nation, church, or culture, become total war, we are agreed."

Here we have unanimity on the part of a distinguished group of churchmen that THE MASSACRE OF CIVILIAN POPULATIONS is never justifiable, and that the Church can never acquiesce in TOTAL WAR. These words plainly mean that atomic and bacterial war is unjustifiable and that the Church can never acquiesce in its waging. In their second report, after the first use of atomic bombs, twenty-one of these same theologians, including Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop Angus Dun, Henry P. Van Dusen, John Bennett, and B. Harvie Branscomb, agreed that "the march toward total war, which this commission and other theologians have judged irreconcilable with Christian principles, has been advanced a giant step further. For the new weapons are especially well suited to indiscriminate destruction . . . in the strategic bombing that has already become so large a factor in modern war, atomic weapons clearly belong with the tools of obliteration, not precision attack . . . Even more all-inclusive would be attack with radioactive poison gases that were already known in 1940 as by-products of the work with uranium. The logical end would be total war in grim truth."

**TOTAL WAR IN GRIM TRUTH!** The commission then says unanimously: "In an atmosphere of general suspicion, atomic war would have, more than any previous form of combat, the characteristics of universal madness." **THE CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIVERSAL MADNESS!** The commission continues: "We are agreed that, whatever be one's judgment of the ethics of war in principle, the surprise bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are morally indefensible . . . As the power

that first used the atomic bomb under these circumstances, we have sinned grievously against the laws of God and against the people of Japan." **MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE! WE HAVE SINNED GRIEVOUSLY!**

One of the encouraging signs of the times is the unanimity with which the churches have condemned military conscription in peacetime. Almost all of the larger denominations have taken official action against the peacetime draft. As sharp as is the contrast between military conscription and the requirements of Christian discipleship, even more abhorrent to the Christian conscience is preparedness to massacre civilian populations in other lands. Our government is preparing to use the new atomic bombs which have explosive power enough to blast an area seventeen miles by seventeen miles, and if exploded in deep water to rain death throughout an area fifty miles by fifty miles. Our government is preparing to wage war with bacterial weapons. Research is being conducted in the harnessing of thirty-three types of disease germs as weapons of war.

That all this preparedness for total war is sheer defiance of the will of God and contrary to the mind of Christ is incontestable. Continued support of military preparations for the massacre of men, women and children is utter rebellion against God. This truth was recognized by Dr. J. H. Oldham, one of the most distinguished churchmen of Great Britain, when he wrote in *The Christian News Letter*, October, 1940: "Christians can take part in war only if the distinction can be maintained between war . . . and murder. The deliberate killing of non-combatants is murder. If war degenerates into willful slaughter of the innocent, Christians must either become pacifists or give up their religion." By this definition, the killing of the people of Hiroshima

was murder, and by this definition preparedness for total war is preparedness for murder.

An individual can help to disentangle the churches from the war system by committing himself personally to the policy of refusing to sanction any war, or to participate in it directly and voluntarily. He can arouse other Christians to a realization of the irreconcilable contrast between total war and the way of Jesus. He can help to persuade local congregations to go on record officially as refusing to sanction preparedness for mass massacre. He can help to adopt in state and national assemblies resolutions repudiating war and the race of armaments. In numerous ways an individual can help to get the churches out of the war business.

If the churches would speak out with clear and united voices, they might be able to persuade the government of the United States to take the initiative in ending the race of armaments. In order to be successful in this endeavor it will be necessary for the United States to show deep concern for the safety and the economic wellbeing of the Russian people by extending the Marshall Plan to include Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe, on terms which will be acceptable to Moscow. The only hope of averting a third world war is by ending the race of armaments and by engaging in mutual aid in a common endeavor to lift standards of living all over the earth. This will require the strengthening of the United Nations and its rapid transformation into world government. In the meantime the concerned Christian must work diligently for the repeal of military conscription.

**Every minister can without delay preach a series of sermons upon the theme: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Every teacher of a Sunday School class of youth and adults can de-**

**vote several sessions to this life-and-death theme. Every youth society can spend several evenings in discussing this subject. Every women's society can spend time in discussing the decisions which must be made. Every editor can use his columns in developing this supremely important idea. Every individual can engage in frequent conversations with relatives and neighbors and friends about the choice which must be made between these utterly different ways of life.**

We have reached a parting of the ways: we must choose between the race of armaments and AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT WAY OF DEALING WITH ENEMIES. We must abandon the policy of attempting to overcome evil with evil and put our faith in the effort to overcome evil with good. Instead of seeking to "out-Stalinize Stalin," we must take up the cross and follow the Prince of Peace.

This generation will do well to learn from Mahatma Gandhi. No man of our time has applied the principles of Jesus to politics and international affairs with such fidelity as was done by the Spinner of Sabarmati. His influence is an impressive illustration of the power of meekness. Reverence for life and trust in the power of non-violence were the very essence of his being. In his long struggle for the freedom of India, he refrained from bitterness and enmity to an unequaled degree. He has destroyed forever any basis for the notion that meekness is weakness. To his non-violent crusade he devoted high courage equal to that of any soldier in military combat. His vibrant faith in his cause has not been surpassed by any general of an army. He has shown with more vividness than any other member of this generation the meaning of the way of the cross.

## VII

In order to be an effective participant in the mighty movement against war, the sensitive individual must discipline himself. He must bring under control his own attitudes and actions. He can seek earnestly to know the will of God for his life and for society.<sup>1</sup> We find the will of God through dominant desire, eager obedience, expectant faith, fellowship and communion, prolonged reflection upon the processes of history, sustained study of the long record of spiritual experience, and especially through the unique revelation in Jesus Christ.

He can spend time daily in nurturing his spiritual life through prayer, meditation and the reading of devotional literature.<sup>2</sup> Finding time for regular private worship is merely a question of putting first things first. When a man realizes the awful peril now threatening civilization, and when he is possessed with dominant desire to know the will of God, he will be able so to arrange his affairs that ample time will be available for spiritual nurture.

He can commit himself personally to the policy of refusing to sanction any war, or to participate in it directly and voluntarily. He can join with others who have taken a resolute stand against war in such a movement as The Fellowship of Reconciliation.<sup>3</sup>

He can strive to be a faithful and loyal follower of Christ. He can realize that what God requires of an individual is not success but fidelity. One person cannot control world convulsion, but he can provide God with opportunity to use him in serving his fellows. He can live with radiant joy and can experience the peace of God which passes all understanding.

1. See *The Will of God For These Days*, by Kirby Page.

2. *Living Prayerfully*, by Kirby Page, is a 500-page anthology derived from a thousand devotional books. His *Living Abundantly* is a 500-page study of creative pioneer groups throughout twenty-seven centuries of exploration of pathways to joyous and abundant life. Orders may be sent to him at La Habra, California.

3. 2929 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

The fate of civilization is in the hands of millions of people. They can deny God opportunity or they can provide him with opportunity to enlighten and empower them. What millions of us do as individuals and in our collective behavior will decide whether our civilization lives or dies.

Listen to these ringing words from Professor Toynbee's monumental history: ". . . no less than sixteen out of these twenty-six are by now dead and buried . . . among the civilizations which are alive at the present day, every one, apparently, has already broken down and is now in process of disintegration, with the possible exception of our own . . . The dead civilizations strew the deck of the ship of human fortunes; and we, and we only, are left. By the Law of Chance the odds are certainly sixteen to ten, and possibly twenty-five to one, that Death the Leveller will lay his icy hand on us likewise . . . Though sixteen civilizations may have perished already to our knowledge, and nine others may be now at the point of death . . . we need fear no evil from the encompassing shadow of Death, for we are not compelled to submit our fate to the blind arbitrament of statistics. The divine spark of creative power is instinct in ourselves; and if we have the grace to kindle it into flame, then the stars in their courses cannot defeat our efforts to attain the goal of human endeavours."<sup>1</sup>

"Be not deceived, God is not mocked, whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." This is bad news, but it is also good news. Each one of us can provide God with opportunity by sowing good seed. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

1. *A Study of History*, vol. 4, pp. 1, 3, 39.

### **AROUSE THE CHURCHES!**

"Mankind as a whole now lives in a state of utmost peril; a state never even approximated in human history since the slow invasion of the glaciers during the Ice Ages."

A thousand prophets are shouting from the housetops that the nations are now rushing swiftly toward the war which will destroy civilization.

While there is yet time the churches must be aroused. Quickly they must be disentangled from the war system. Therefore, Kirby Page has written four new pamphlets:

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**La Habra, California**

# Was Jesus a Patriot?

By KIRBY PAGE

8

KEEP IN MIND the fact that Jesus was a citizen of a country that was in bondage to a militaristic power. Rome was the mistress of almost all the known world. Roman officials had full power over the entire life of the Jewish people. True enough, a good deal of local autonomy had been granted to the Jewish sanhedrin, but even this delegated power could be withdrawn at any moment at the will of the conqueror. The Roman procurator had power to appoint the high priest, and Valerius Gratus exercised this right to the extent of changing the high priest four times within four years. Roman centurions commanded the armed forces that kept the Roman officials in power. Tax collectors gathered tribute for the upkeep of the imperial city and its officials. In every corner of the nation evidences of the presence of the conqueror were painfully evident.

The second fact which should not be overlooked is that Jesus was a member of a race that loved freedom and hated tyranny to an extent that has rarely been equalled by any people in human history. Everywhere the rank and file were awaiting the coming of the Messiah who should lead them in the struggle to overthrow the tyrant and restore their glorious freedom. They were not all agreed as to the nature of the Messiah who was to come, but the predominant conception was that he would be the son of David. Dean Shailer Mathews tells us that this phrase "had become expressive of the entire messianic ideal as held by all Jews, whether scribes or common people. It indicated that the new kingdom was to be essentially Jewish, just as its king was to be representative of the most typical royal family of Hebrew history. More than that, it declared the new kingdom to be essentially military, for to the Jew, David was essentially a man of war, a conqueror of the enemies of Israel. To describe the messianic king as his son was to ascribe to him the same military powers."

#### PALESTINE ALWAYS IN REVOLT

The third fact which needs to be remembered is the never-ending series of revolts and rebellions which kept breaking out. About 150 B. C. the Maccabees had led the Jewish people in a revolt which was successful and which for a brief time re-established national freedom and greatness. But soon they were in bondage again. About the time of the birth of Jesus, occurred a very violent rebellion against Rome. When a large Roman eagle, made out of gold at vast public expense, was erected over the principal gate of the temple, certain young men under the leadership of Matthias and Judas pulled down the eagle and cut it into pieces. At the command of Herod they were burned alive. When Archelaus succeeded Herod, the populace demanded that the officials who had executed this sentence should themselves be punished. This demand was rejected. When the people refused to disperse, Archelaus called out the Roman troops and three thousand Jews were slaughtered. On another occasion Theudas led a revolt with the result that he and four hundred of his followers were slain. In the year A. D. 7 Judas of Galilee led an armed revolt. He and his followers were likewise slaughtered. During the reign of Pilate an armed rebellion was put down with great loss of life. In A. D. 70 the city of Jerusalem was destroyed and over a million people were slain, crucified or sold into slavery. Thus we see there was never a period when the Jews ceased their efforts to regain their freedom. In this connection, Professor V. G. Simkhovitch says: "The rebellion of the Jews against Rome rather begins with the power of Rome over the Jews; and in the same degree as the Roman power over the Jews increased, did political reaction against that power, the revolution against Rome, increase and spread."

With these historic facts in mind the writer has recently gone through the New Testament record and has discovered at least twenty-three passages that seem to throw light upon the question under consideration. Let us briefly note these passages.

#### NEW TESTAMENT EVIDENCE

1. Jesus was born at the time when Joseph and Mary had gone to Bethlehem for enrolment. It was on a basis of this census that Roman taxes were apportioned. "Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled . . . and Joseph also went up from Galilee . . . to enrol himself with Mary." (Luke 2:1-5). 2. The story of the slaying of the children of Beth-

lehem by Herod assumes new significance as the historic background is kept in mind. (Matt 2:16). Why was Herod so eager to kill the young child Jesus? In a land of chronic rebellion would any ruler fail to be troubled over the prophecy by the wise men that this child was to be king of the Jews? 3. In Luke we find the following record: "Now there were some present at that very season which told him of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." (Luke 13:1). Who were these people who had been slain by command of the Roman ruler? Is it not obvious that they were revolutionists? 4. In the Acts of the Apostles we find the record of two rebellions, led respectively by Theudas and Judas. (Acts 5:36,37). When, in accordance with the custom at the feast, Pilate offered to release one prisoner, the populace chose Barabbas instead of Jesus. Why? Who was Barabbas? Luke refers to him as "one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison." (Luke 23:19). That is to say he was a leader in an attempted revolt against Rome. It is clear, therefore, that the people were clamoring for the release of a national hero. 6. Numbered among the twelve disciples of Jesus was Simon the zealot. (Luke 6:15). Who were the zealots? They were a group who were advocates of armed rebellion against Rome. 7. Evidence that Jesus was an acute observer of the signs of the times is found in his prophecies concerning the destruction of the temple. "And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down . . . But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains." (Mark 13:2,14). The parallel passage in Luke read: "But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand. Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains." (Luke 21:20,21). Is it not clear that Jesus is referring to the desecration and destruction of the temple by Roman soldiers? 8. Concerning another incident the record reads: "And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this thy day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." (Luke 19:41-44).

TEMPTED TO TREASON

9. The Pharisees, who were constantly seeking to entrap Jesus, once asked him: "Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?" (Luke 20:22). What was the significance of this question? If he answered no, he would be liable to arrest for treasonable utterance; whereas if he replied yes, he would alienate the Jewish populace. Jesus "perceived their craftiness" and did not give them a direct answer. 10. In the new Testament publicans, tax-collectors, are frequently referred to in the same terms as outcasts and sinners. For example: "Why do ye eat and drink with the publicans and sinners?" (Luke 5:30). The reason is the obvious one that the tax-collectors were agents of hated Rome and therefore objects of scorn and indignation in the eyes of all patriotic Jews. 11. "Then certain of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee." (Matt. 12:38). What was the significance of this request, which was repeated on several occasions? The answer is to be found in a study of the messianic prophecies, where it is recorded that the Messiah would validate his claim to this position by performing a marvellous miracle or sign. 12. On several occasions Jesus is referred to as son of David. For example: "And the most part of the multitude spread their garments in the way; and others cut branches from the trees, and spread them in the way. And the multitude that went before him, and that followed cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David." (Matt 21:8,9). This passage is illumined by the historic fact of the messianic hope of deliverance at the hand of a descendant of the great king. Is it not clear that the populace expected Jesus to set up an earthly kingdom? 13. This fact is made even more evident in another passage: "When therefore the people saw the sign which he did, they said, This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world. Jesus therefore perceiving that they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone." (John 6:14, 15). 14. Even the disciples expected Jesus to be king, as is revealed in the following verses: "And there came near unto him James and John, the sons of Zebedee, saying unto him . . . Grant unto us that we may sit one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand, in thy glory." (Mark 10:35-37). 15. That Jesus did not accept the current messianic conception is revealed in the following passage: "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you: but whosoever would become great among you shall be your servant." (Matt. 20:25-26).

FEARED AS A REVOLUTIONIST

16. The Jewish leaders were afraid that Jesus would stir up an unsuccessful revolution, as is indicated in the following verses: "The chief priests therefore and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation." (John 11:47-48). That is to say, they were afraid of losing the measure of local religious autonomy which they enjoyed. 17. Another passage read: "Some therefore of them of Jerusalem said, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? . . . But of the multitude many believed on him; and they said, When the Christ shall come, will he do more signs than those which this man hath done?" (John 7:25,31). The Pharisees heard the multitude murmuring these things concerning him; and the chief priests and the Pharisees sent officers to take him. 18. The Pharisees also sought to get rid of Jesus by warning him of Herod's antagonism: "In that very hour there came certain Pharisees, saying to him, Get thee out, and go hence: for Herod would fain kill thee." (Luke 13:31). 19. The charge against Jesus before Pilate was that of sedition: "And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king. And Pilate asked him, saying Art thou the king of the Jews?" (Luke 23:2,3). It is worthy of notice that the charge against Jesus before the Jewish authorities was a very different one, that of blasphemy. 20. When Pilate would have released Jesus, the populace restrained him by reminding him that he might incur the displeasure of his imperial master: "Upon this Pilate sought to release him, but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou release this man thou art not Caesar's friend; every one that maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar." (John 19:12). 21. In order to humiliate the patriotic Jews, Pilate had a superscription placed above the cross on which Jesus was crucified: "The King of the Jews." (Mark 15:26).

22. Even after the resurrection of Jesus his disciples were still expecting him to bring national deliverance and freedom: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?" (Acts 1:6). 23. In the light of the existing historic situation and of the above passages, let us look again into the significance of the temptations of Jesus. (Matt. 4:1-11). Is it not obvious that here we have an autobiographical account of the inner struggle of Jesus concerning the nature of the kingdom which he came to establish, and the ways and means of achieving the desired end? With evidence of

the tyranny of the conqueror everywhere visible, with his countrymen passionately longing for freedom and eagerly awaiting the military messianic deliverer, with the memory of the glorious victories achieved under the Maccabees in every mind, with the readiness of the populace to respond to the call of any able revolutionist, and with Jesus' own conviction of his messiahship—in the light of all these facts, surely there can be no doubt that the major decision of Jesus' life had to do with the nature of his kingdom and the method of bringing it to pass. In this connection, Professor Simkhovitch says: "At the given time there was but one problem for the Jews—a single, all-absorbing national problem, that became under the circumstances the religious problem as well. It was the problem of existence, the problem of escape from certain annihilation."

#### JESUS' IDEA OF HIS KINGDOM

That Jesus turned away from the kind of kingdom the Jews were expecting and rejected the methods on which they relied is known to all men. Why? The answer is found running through the entire gospel record. Jesus rejected their ends and their means because both were in fundamental opposition to the way of life which he had chosen as his own. The supreme end of life is the establishment of the family of God, where every human being will love God as father and all men as brothers. Jesus' kingdom is a universal one and includes all members of the father's family—Romans and Samaritans as well as Jews. Since God is father and all men are brothers and each is of priceless worth, it follows that Christian virtues are family virtues. Attitudes and practices which have no place in the ideal family are wrong for Christians. Jesus has no place for hatred, retaliation and revenge. "Ye have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you"—something radically different. On the other hand, followers of Jesus are under the positive obligation to treat every person as a member of the father's family.

In response to a question as to which is the greatest commandment, Jesus summarized all the law, the prophets and the gospel in terms of love—the preeminent family virtue—love toward God and toward man. We are to love not only the good and attractive members of the family but also the wicked and the unlovable, including those who are seeking to do us harm or even to destroy us. "Love your enemies (Romans were in the minds of his hearers), do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you"—nothing less than this is

the challenge of Jesus. Not only love but forgiveness is demanded. In response to the question of Peter as to whether he should forgive his brother seven times, Jesus replied, "Seventy times seven," that is to say, live always in the forgiving spirit. Love and forgiveness are the means of redeeming the erring one and of restoring him to the family circle. Therefore, the innocent members must love and serve and suffer for the sake of the guilty.

That this is the gospel of Jesus is to be seen not only in his teaching but preeminently in his example. The cross of Calvary is only the natural culmination of Jesus' manner of life. Here we see the innocent loving, serving, suffering, dying for the sake of the guilty. This, says Jesus, is the way every member of the family ought to live. This is the way to restore the broken family bonds: overcome evil by doing good. Thus we see that Jesus was compelled to choose between the patriotic conception of his countrymen and his own way of life. To seek a materialistic and nationalistic kingdom by using the weapons of war and by adopting the attitudes of hate and revenge would have compelled the abandonment of his most essential ideals and practices.

#### PREEMINENT PATRIOTISM

What then shall we say? Was Jesus a patriot? In the narrow nationalistic and militaristic sense, obviously he was not. But what is real patriotism? Is it not to be defined as love of one's countrymen and devotion to the highest ideals of one's nation? If so, Jesus was the preeminent patriot of his day. No man ever gave such unmistakable evidence of love for his people and no Jew ever rendered such complete devotion to the highest ideals of the prophets as did Jesus. He came that the people might have life and have it to the full. To this end he went about doing good—feeding the hungry, healing the sick, comforting the sorrowing, lifting up the fallen, strengthening the weak, forgiving the sinful, leading to the father all who would follow: loving, serving, suffering, to the end. On the cross of pain and shame he cried aloud: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Not only so, he was completely devoted to the highest ideals of his nation. Did not the prophets rise to the noble conception of Judea as the mediator of justice and righteousness between the nations? Was not the highest conception of the messiah that of a suffering servant? Did any zealot love his countrymen as much as did Jesus, or serve them as well? Who manifested the truest patriotism, Jesus or Barabbas?

In the light of the incontrovertible evidence concerning the

actual choices made by Jesus, what attitude toward patriotism should be maintained by his followers today? Can we not all agree upon the following? First, followers of Jesus are supremely obligated to love their countrymen and to be devoted to the highest ideals of their nation. Patriotism for real Christians is not a matter of lip service but a question of genuine affection for one's people, and wholehearted allegiance to the noblest ideals of one's nation. Too frequently the ideals and symbols of patriotism have been prostituted to unholy ends. Are not the sacred phrases of patriotism bandied about by corrupt politicians and arch-militarists? Is not the flag often used to drape the barroom of some den of vice or to decorate the show window of some profiteer? Shall the true followers of Jesus permit these blatant, self-styled patriots, actual enemies of their country, to appropriate the ideals and symbols of patriotism? Surely one of the main tasks before us is to put content into the word patriotism and help our fellow-citizens to understand that it connotes love of people and dedication to ideals. Moreover, it should be emphasized that love of country does not involve hatred of other people. The truest patriotism incorporates within itself the ideal: "Above all nations is humanity."

#### NO PLACE FOR HATRED

Second, followers of Jesus should realize that the highest service to the citizens and the ideals of their nation can be rendered only by adhering to Jesus' way of life. The truest patriot is the one who most completely incarnates the attitudes and practices of Jesus. There is, therefore, no occasion when a Christian patriot is justified in giving way to hatred of other peoples or to the desire for revenge. "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." Since the effective way to overcome evil is by doing good, a Christian patriot should never retaliate with evil for evil, or seek to cast out Satan by using Satan's weapons. In view of the tragic evidence now available which reveals the futility and suicidal nature of modern war, as well as its utterly unchristian character, is it not clear that we, like Jesus, should refuse ever to take up the weapons of war? If we are to overcome national evildoers by non-violent measures, we must create and strengthen international agencies of justice as channels through which good-will may find expression.

Third, the patriot who believes that he can serve his country most effectively by using the weapons of Jesus, must be prepared

to take the consequences of that manner of life. To resist the enemies of one's country with the weapons of war, frequently means the loss of a limb or an eye or even life itself. It is expected of a soldier that he will endure any discomfort or suffering which is necessary in order to win the victory. And so it must be with the Christian who would overcome evil by doing good. To overcome the armed enemies of one's country by depending upon the method of Jesus requires even greater courage, fortitude and endurance than is demanded of a soldier. Jesus recognized this fact and gave full warning to his disciples: "Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves . . . Yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service to God . . . Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit . . . If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." The most extreme penalty that the Christian patriot may be called upon to endure is the temporary loss of political freedom rather than use the weapons of hatred and bloodshed. From the whole spirit and example of Jesus, clearly is it far more important that his followers should always live as good members of the father's family, ever maintaining the attitude of love and forgiveness, than that they should preserve political freedom by violating the family spirit. Real freedom is deliverance from attitudes and practices which violate Jesus' way of life. "If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." To follow Jesus obligates one to love his countrymen and to seek after the highest ideals of his nation. But to serve as Jesus did may involve humiliation, suffering or death. The real question before us, therefore, is this: Do we have the love, the faith, the courage, the endurance to accept all that is involved in the patriotism of Jesus?

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For the Educational Committee, Commission on the Church and Social Service of the  
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Readers of these columns are heavily indebted to a devoted Methodist layman, for the many hours of labor in preparing this material for the offset printer.

Peace of mind is the ripe  
Fruitage of wholesome  
Living. It is not avoidance  
Of all negative thinking,  
Nor refusal to face the  
Terrible realities of sin  
And tragedy. It is not a  
Dose of aspirin with which  
To quiet a spiritual ache,  
Nor a sleeping potion to  
Get your mind off your  
Troubles. It does not  
Come as a result of saying  
'Every day in every way,  
I am getting better and  
Better.' There is no  
Panacea in positive thinking  
As a cure for the cancerous  
Growth of sin. Peace of  
Mind comes when you are  
Aflame, on fire with the  
Love of God, burning with  
Compassion and kindness.  
It sweeps over you with  
Gentle exhilaration when  
Rendering faithful  
Obedience to God, when  
Living in reconciled  
Fellowship with people.

The peace of God which is  
The pearl of great price is  
A fusion of commitment and  
Fidelity, endeavor and  
Expectation, affection and  
Forgiveness, companionship  
And trust. It is the full  
Grain in the ear harvested  
From a ministry of mercy  
And arduous effort to do  
The will of God. It has  
Power to persist in sorrow  
And rejoicing, in success  
And defeat. It enables you  
To see human beings as  
Dwelling places, sacred  
Altars of the Most High.  
It prompts appreciativeness  
And considerateness.  
Warmth of soul comes from  
Fervor of goodwill and ardor  
Of comradeship. Not evasion  
But passion of devotion  
Leads to peace of mind.  
Long ago Jesus cried out:  
*"It is fire that I  
Have come to bring upon  
The earth - how I wish it  
Were already kindled!"*

## A CAUSE WORTHY OF FULL ALLEGIANCE

By Kirby Page

Deep down in his soul every man longs for a cause to which he can give himself with utmost devotion. A mother is willing to make any sacrifice for her children, and a patriot will pay any price for the preservation of liberty. Once Garabaldi cried out, in an oft-quoted challenge to young Italians: "I am going out from home, I offer neither quarters, nor provisions, nor wages. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death. Let him who loves his country with his heart and not his lips only follow me." In every land and in every century this challenge has met with passionate response.

And this is the summons of our Lord Jesus. He offers men a cause which is worthy of their all. He calls disciples and with entire frankness warns them of trouble ahead. If with fresh minds we could read the record of the require-

ments of discipleship, we would realize that Jesus is appealing to the most fervent yearning of the human heart-- a cause big enough to demand everything. Render full obedience to God and do his will at any cost, and enter into life. Think again upon these familiar words: "If anyone wants to go with me, he must disregard himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever wants to preserve his own life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for me and for the good news will preserve it... I have said all this to you to keep you from falling away. They will put you out of the synagogues; indeed, the hour is coming when whoever kills you will think he is offering service to God."

The Christian requirement is total allegiance to Jesus Christ in doing the loving will of God.

No. 223

## LIFE HAS LOVELINESS TO SELL

By Kirby Page

In the Epistle to the Phillipians, Saint Paul gives wholesome advice: "Now, brother, let your minds dwell on what is true, what is worthy, what is right, what is pure, what is amiable, what is kindly-- on everything that is excellent or praiseworthy. Then God who gives peace will be with you." Sara Teasdale who sees with seeing eyes shares this conviction: "Life has loveliness to sell, all beautiful and splendid things, blue waves whitened on a cliff, climbing fire that sways and sings, and children's faces looking up holding wonder like a cup. Life has loveliness to sell, music like a curve of gold, scent of pine trees in the rain,

Eyes that love you, arms that hold, and for your spirit's still delight, holy thoughts that star the night. Spend all you have for loveliness, buy it and never count the cost; for one white singing hour of peace count many a year of strife well lost, and for a breath of ecstasy give all you have been or could be." "In silence and in stillness God's mighty works are wrought, unheard, unseen, His workmanship is to perfection brought. Help us, O Lord, in quietness to do our work, like Thee, and brace our souls with Thy sweet grace of high tranquility!" (John Oxenham)

No. 224

## COMPASSION AND COURAGE AND SERENITY

By Kirby Page

In an effort to arouse his fellow Quakers in England to the evils of slavery, John Woolman in 1772 sailed for London, and went directly from the ship to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, which included some of the richest men in London. He presented his credentials and sat down. The dignified members were shocked by what they saw. Since dye was produced by slave labor, Woolman wore a white hat, a coarse raw linen shirt without anything about the neck, coat, waist-coat and breeches of white coarse cloth, white yarn stockings, and shoes of uncured leather -- so that he was all white! And less than an hour before he had emerged from steerage after a long ocean voyage!

After an embarrassing pause, the presiding officer arose and expressed the feeling of

the meeting that the stranger might consider that his dedication of himself to his proposed visitations in England was accepted, and that he might feel free to return at once to his home. After this courtesy, Woolman sat with his face covered, and then arose and said that he did not feel himself excused from his mission and would be grateful for employment. Then a long, long period of living silence. Woolman again arose, with serene brow and quiet voice, and spoke to them "in the love of God and the pure life of truth." The presiding officer in a choking voice begged Woolman's forgiveness, and the silence was surcharged with the power of God.

Compassion and courage and serenity were blended to perfection in John Woolman.

No. 225

## THE MARVELOUS POWER OF HUMAN SONG

By Kirby Page

Mysterious beyond all comprehension is the impact of human song upon the spirit of man. Enter into this experience as narrated by Leslie D. Weatherhead. The scene is the Queen's Hall, London. A cultured audience has gathered to listen to a concert. One of the numbers is a song by a young girl whose name is unknown. After deafening applause, she sings the same song again. The audience demands more. She goes to the platform and in perfect stillness begins, "There is a green hill far away, without a city wall, where the dear Lord was crucified, who died to save us all." Sings it to Gounod's glorious setting. The effect is electrical. It is a long time since many of those who listen have heard any religious message, and a very long time indeed since they have heard the word of the Cross.

No. 226

The beautiful voice goes on: "We may not know, we cannot tell, what pains he had to bear, but we believe it was for us He hung and suffered there." The silence becomes almost tangible. The tension is almost more than people can bear, and still the voice goes on, "There was no other good enough to pay the price of sin; He only could unlock the gate of Heaven, and let us in." There are not many dry eyes. Many grip the seats in front of them, their knuckles white with intensity, their faces strained by the depth of their emotion. The young voice travels on, "O dearly, dearly has he loved, and we must love him too, and trust his redeeming blood, and try his works to do." The soloist forgets to bow. There is no applause -- only a great silence.

## WHAT ON EARTH IS GOD DOING?

By Kirby Page

"Why doesn't God do something?" is the cry of many an anguished heart when tragedy strikes.

Long before the moment of desolation comes, we should discipline our minds and hearts with the realization that God is now doing everything that he can do to enrich our lives and grant unto us fulness of joy. That is, he is doing all that he can do -- until. But he could do much more -- if. If we were responsive.

1. He is loving us with affection far deeper than any human love can do -- with infinite longing for our wellbeing.

2. He has equipped us with every faculty needed for life in the Kingdom of God, and is constantly appealing to our mind and emotion, conscience and will to follow his guidance and receive his power.

3. He is trusting us with the use of our faculties, and never takes away from us free-

dom of choice, not even when we use our liberty to live in rebellion against his holy will.

4. He is maintaining the moral order of the universe, and holding inviolable the law of sowing and reaping, so that good seed produce a good harvest and evil seed an evil harvest.

5. He is enabling us go grow in understanding and in ability to enter ever more deeply into life abundant.

6. He is answering prayers in the spirit of Jesus, in ways that are best for us.

7. He is suffering with us in all our distresses, and affording his companionship in every hour of trouble.

8. He is offering us the salvation of right relationships as we respond to the revelation in his Son our Lord.

9. He is providing for us an eternal home in the ages to come.

## IN DEBT TO ALL MEN

By Kirby Page

With Saint Paul we must cry:

*"I feel myself under a sort  
Of universal obligation. I  
Owe something to all men,  
From cultured Greek to  
Ignorant savage."*

So it is With every individual, and In every area of life. *"No  
Man lives to himself, and  
No man dies to himself."* Our very existence depends Upon the millions of hands And backs that provide us With food and shelter and Security. Our health is Ministered to by sanitary Engineer, garbage collector, Street sweeper, doctor and Dentist. Our safety is in The care of fireman, traffic Officer, policeman, and Food inspector. What we Learn is derived from brain And voice and pen of a vast Company -- teacher, author, Editor, reporter. For our Books, magazines and papers We are obligated to hewer Of wood, artisan, mechanic,

Truck driver, writer, Publisher, printer, seller, Delivery boy. And how Enriched our lives by the Genius and labor of Bach And Beethoven, Raphael and Michelangelo! Beyond Imagination is our spiritual Indebtedness to prophet and Saint and martyr, and above All others to our Lord, and The long succession of his Disciples who journeyed to Far places with the Good News. Precious indeed is Our heritage through the Church, with its sanctuary, Altar, pulpit, classroom, And beneficent impacts. Utterly beyond repayment Is our debt to father.

Mother, son, daughter, Brother, sister, friend. With exultant heart, *"I  
Feel myself under a sort  
Of universal obligation.  
I owe something to all  
Men, from cultured Greek  
To ignorant savage."*

## WHY WE BELIEVE IN IMMORTALITY

By Kirby Page

Our faith in immortality is undergirded by the character of God. He cannot be less loving than the pursuing affection of Jesus. His concern cannot be milder than the self-emptying passion of our Lord. His yearning for man's redemption cannot be less embracing than the inclusiveness of Christ's forgiving prayer on the cross. And a Creator with sufficient power to sustain the spheres and to fashion atomic universes, and who insures the conservation of matter and energy, cannot be stricken with impotence at the grave of a beloved child born in his image. It is not his loving will that a single one of his little ones should perish.

The entire superstructure of true Christianity rests upon the granite foundation of the sheer goodness and utter integrity of the Eternal as re-

vealed in our Lord Jesus, and no idea is more strongly supported by God's character than faith in endless fellowship in the ages to come.

Nothing can separate us from the love of God, absolutely nothing—not even death. *"No, in all these things we win an overwhelming victory through Him Who has proved His love for us."* *"Thanks be to God Who leads us, wherever we are, on His own triumphant way and makes our knowledge of Him to spread throughout the world like a lovely perfume!"*

Since we are destined for everlasting life, let us pray for that sensitiveness and responsiveness of spirit which enables God to teach us how to live, grant unto us guidance and provide us with ample power.

No. 229

## NOT AS AN OX IN THE MEADOW

By Kirby Page

Only a living creature can reveal traits of character. So Nature cannot fully disclose the love of God. Happy are we who have learned to think of the Creator of all beauty as our gracious Father. When we behold the glory of his handiwork, we feel his loving presence. Tragic is the habit of going through life with head down as an ox in the meadow, oblivious of Nature's sheer loveliness. Enter into this experience of Philip M. Raskin:

*"I've seen earth's lakes, and hills, and woods, Across the Nile, the Rhone, the Thames; I've seen them in their shifting moods, In twilight haze, in star lit flames. I've seen the prairie, a burning sea,*

*The desert, marble-white and still; I've watched sunrise in Galilee, A sunset from a Judean hill. I've strayed to tune of wind and bird, Past valley petaled, and river pearled; And praised my God in Song and word For making beautiful his world. But my heart says not enough To all on earth, to all on high; More of Beauty, more of Love, Is its trenchant cry. More wonder of the skies, And leaf, and bloom, and sheen; God! How can I close my eyes, With so much Beauty yet unseen?"*

No. 230

## FULL OF MYSTERY IS THE SENSE OF DUTY

By Kirby Page

Man is a mysterious creature, with innate urges which defy logic. One of his most powerful drives is a sense of duty, an impulse to do what "ought" to be done.

Dr. Hideyo Noguchi became the embodiment of this feeling of solemn obligation. In childhood the fingers of his left hand were terribly burned. In spite of this handicap, and because his father was a drunkard, he was compelled to work long hours. A Japanese doctor noticed Hideyo's crippled hand, began to treat it, and created in the boy a desire to be a doctor. In Tokyo with painful application he earned a meager living and prepared for medical training.

After three years at the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, he studied in Europe. Much of his renowned research work was done at the Rockefeller In-

stitute in New York City. In his efforts to eradicate yellow fever, he journeyed to Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. When Dr. Stokes died of yellow fever in Africa, Noguchi felt impelled to take his colleague's place and complete his researches there. In 1928 at the age of fifty-one, with a bad heart and afflicted with diabetes, in spite of the warnings of his colleagues, he insisted on sailing for Africa. Within a few weeks he contracted the scourge and died.

Full of mystery is human determination to take the path of duty at the risk of one's own life. The religious answer is simple --- the sense of "oughtness" is implanted deep within man by the living God. Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for others, said our Lord.

No. 231

## PEACE OF MIND MAY BE BLINDING

By Kirby Page

There is a peace of mind which is empowering and overjoying, and there is a peace of mind which is blinding and paralyzing. Professor Moffatt gives this translation of Jesus' reminder to his disciples: "And if your very light turns dark, then--what a darkness it is!"

John Newton was captain of a slave-ship between Africa and the slave-markets. On these journeys on the high seas he experienced such peace of mind that he recorded in his diary that he had never known sweeter hours of communion with God, and twice on Sunday he read the church liturgy with his crew--while packed in the hold of his ship in indescribable squalor were scores of human beings created in the image of God and precious to him beyond computation. Once a college church in Virginia, attended

by students of a nearby Seminary, held enough slaves, which were rented out on Christmas day, to pay the salary of the minister. How deep can darkness be?

And our children's children as they read a history of our own doings will echo, "How deep can darkness be?" When we dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, among the one hundred thousand fatalities were probably twenty thousand babies and children. Year by year we appropriate billions for atomic and hydrogen weapons as an ominous threat of massive retaliation. And in prison death-chambers periodically we resort to the ancient law of eye for eye, life for life, in the execution of criminals. Probably nine Christians out of ten in the United States worship God in segregated churches.

Then--what a darkness it is!

No. 232

## THE ILLIMITABLE RANGE OF LIFE

By Kirby Page

Less than ten percent of our latent possibilities are released into actual life. We pass through this world with our faculties poorly trained and ineffectually utilized. When our worst is contrasted with our best, and when comparison is made between the most primitive man and the individual with highest genius, we catch a glimpse of the illimitable range of life.

Clearer than anyone else Jesus realized the unlimited possibilities of life created in God's image and blessed with God's guidance and power. Almost incredible are his words: "*Truly, truly I tell you, he who believes in me will do the very deeds I do, and still greater deeds than these.*" And in the First Epistle of John we read: "*Here and now we are God's children. We don't know what we shall be-*

*come in the future. We only know that, if reality were to break through, we should reflect His likeness, for we should see Him as He really is!"*

If the world had been studied before there was life on it, the emergence of life could not have been predicted.

The study of vegetation would never have made possible the prediction of animal life.

An examination of the behavior of primitive creatures would never have led to the prediction of human life.

And a study of the selfishness of man would never have led to foreknowledge of redeeming love on the cross.

The constant factor is the wisdom and power and love of God; the variant is the degree of human sensitivity, responsiveness and commitment.

No. 233

## LET HIM WHO HATH EYES SEE

By Kirby Page

Let him who hath eyes see,  
He who hath ears hear,  
And he who hath a heart feel  
The Presence of the Almighty  
As he walks the common ways  
Of life. Share this lovely

Vision of the poet:  
*"It was only a common sunrise, dawn of a common day..."*

*A faint wind breathed from the southward, a bird crooned in a tree,  
As pearl and agate and amber slowly began to be..."*

*Amethyst, rose and opal, jasper and topaz came,  
Colors that turned to*

*crimson and then to a living flame,  
Till the farthest hills took fire, and splendor touched the wood,  
And the shaggiest fields and meadows were filled with a shining flood...*

*Man cannot choose an acre whereon he may abide*

*But what, with break of morning, it is all glorified;  
He never raises roostree that sunrise does not bless,  
Nor fashion a window that frames no loveliness.  
Nay, if he but have vision, beyond each common night  
A miracle surely opens upon his mortal sight;  
If his heart be but ready his spirit shall put on,  
As though it were a garment, the marvel of the dawn.*

*And he shall go forth girded into the shining day,  
Deeply aware of wonder beside him in the way,  
His feet upon old errands, treading the common sod,  
And walking softly with him, the Beauty that is God."*

(Nancy Byrd Turner)

No. 234

## THE IMITATION OF CHRIST

By Kirby Page

A little volume entitled "The Imitation of Christ", probably has been read more widely and for a longer period of time than any other book except the Bible itself. For centuries its authorship was attributed to Thomas à Kempis, but it is now known to have been written chiefly by Gerard Groote. Millions of Christians all over the earth have fed their spirits upon such words as these:

*He is truly great who hath great love.*

*First keep thyself in peace, and then shalt thou be able to make peace among others.*

*He enjoyeth great tranquility of heart, that careth neither for the praise, nor the blame of men.*

*If you wish to rise to this height of perfection, you must begin manfully and lay*

*the axe to the root in order to remove and destroy all self-seeking and all secret attachment to all temporal goods.*

*And the more a man dies to himself, the more he begins to live unto God.*

*It is better to have a little knowledge with humility, and a moderate understanding, than a treasure of knowledge with self-conceit.*

*Perfect triumph is the triumph over self.*

*Know for certain that you must lead a life in which you continually die to self.*

*Be meek and humble, and Jesus will be with you.*

*Many follow Jesus unto the breaking of bread; but few to the drinking of the cup of His passion. Amen.*

No. 235

## IT IS NOT PERMITTED THAT WE TRIFLE

By Kirby Page

At the end of the eighteen-th century when Europe trembled with terror over the excesses of the French Revolution, Edmund Burke, the British statesman wrote: "The moral state of mankind fills me with dismay and horror. The abyss of Hell itself seems to yawn before me. I must act, think and feel according to the exigencies of this tremendous reason. It is not permitted that we should trifle with our existence."

His reasoning is sound---the more critical the situation, the more serious must be our lives. This is no time for trifling. We also are living in a Time of Troubles. Men who have reached the age of sixty have fought two world wars and participated in violent revolutions in many lands. Across the face of the earth, suspicion and fear and enmity prevail, and the nations are armed with weapons of annihilation.

The perspective of history

is sorely needed in our time. We are no more frightened by communism than Edmund Burke and his class were terrified by the revolution across the channel. Tales of horror were not the inventions of British tories. The terror was actual and revolting. But the law of the harvest operates inexorably: not only do evil seed bring forth an harvest, good seed produce a good harvest. The seed of liberty, equality and fraternity were good seed and plenteous has been their yield. Much indeed do all of us owe to the French Revolution.

Evil seed are now being sown in profusion, and so are good seed. It is God's law of the harvest that wheat and tares shall grow together. In such a day as this, no follower of Christ has a right to live frivolously, or to waste his time with trifles. Truly the harvest is plentiful and the laborers are few.

No. 236

## GO DOWN DEATH, GO DOWN

By Kirby Page

"And God said: Go down,  
Death, go down,  
Go down to Savannah,  
Georgia,  
Down in Yamacraw,  
And find Sister Caroline.  
She's borne the burden and  
the heat of the day,  
She's labored long in  
my vineyard,  
And she's tired --  
She's weary --  
Go down, Death, and  
bring her to me...  
While we were watching  
round her bed,  
She turned her eyes and  
looked away,  
She saw what we couldn't  
see;  
She saw Old Death. She  
saw Old Death,  
Coming like a falling  
star.  
But Death didn't frighten  
Sister Caroline;  
He looked to her like  
a welcome friend.  
And she whispered to us;  
I'm going home,

And she smiled and closed  
her eyes.  
And Death took her up like  
a baby,  
And she lay in his icy arms,  
But she didn't feel no  
chill.  
And Death began to ride  
again ---  
Up beyond the morning star,  
Into the glittering light  
of glory,  
On to the Great White  
Throne.  
And there he laid Sister  
Caroline  
On the loving breast of  
Jesus.  
And Jesus took his own  
hand and wiped away  
her tears,  
And he smoothed the furrows  
from her face,  
And the angels sang a  
little song,  
And Jesus rocked her in  
his arms,  
And kept a-saying: Take  
your rest."  
(James Weldon Johnson).

## AN ACHIEVEMENT OF HUMAN FORTITUDE

By Kirby Page

We are living in an age of  
miracles. Every decade of  
human history has been a  
time of miracles. The Eternal  
is a mighty God and wonderous  
is his continuing work  
of creation. Miracles abound  
alike in the celestial spaces  
and in the inner recesses of  
the atom. More awesome is  
the human mind, but miracle  
of all miracles is the human  
spirit with its affection and  
devotion, fortitude and faith.

Consider the wounded veter-  
an about whom Newton  
Baker talked with Harry  
Emerson Fosdick-a man with  
both legs gone, one arm gone,  
both eyes gone, his face ter-  
ribly mutilated, who was  
wheeled around the grounds  
of the hospital in a peram-  
bulator, but who still was  
radiant and full of life. All  
the doctors thought that soon  
he would be dead. But a mir-  
acle occurred. His indomit-  
able will to live, a vast res-

ervoir of hidden resources  
upon which he drew, and the  
devoted love of the nurse  
who became his wife com-  
bined to pull him through.  
More than that, several years  
later Johns Hopkins Univer-  
sity held a mid-semester con-  
vocation to bestow upon him  
the degree of Doctor of Phil-  
osophy for one of the most  
brilliant pieces of work ever  
done at the University. The  
glory of this achievement of  
the human spirit was matched  
by the wonder of his wife's  
love for such a physical wreck  
of a man.

The New Testament is a  
record of marvelous doings  
in an age of miracles. Not  
only did Jesus perform mir-  
acles, he told his disciples  
plainly that they would do  
even greater works--because!  
The Eternal is a mighty God  
and wondrous is his continu-  
ing work of creation.

## SOMETIMES IT IS EASY TO BE TRUE

By Kirby Page

To say, "You can't change Human nature," is to deny The power of religion. Like a scarlet thread Running through the New Testament is the truth that When a man is in Christ he Is a new creature, he has Been remade. The set of the Sails decides which way the Winds blow us. There are Situations in which we find "*Tis as easy now for the heart to be true*  
*As for grass to be green or skies to be blue,--*  
*'Tis the natural way of living."*" With James Russell Lowell, We can see and hear, Feel and respond: "*What is so rare as a day in June?*  
*Then, if ever, come perfect days;*  
*Then heaven tries earth if it be in tune...*

*Now is the high-tide of the year,  
And whatever of life hath ebbed away  
Comes flooding back with a rippy cheer,  
Into every bare inlet and creek and bay;  
Now the heart is so full that a drop overfills it;  
We are happy now because God wills it...  
Joy comes, grief goes, we know not how;  
Everything is happy now,  
Everything is upward striving;  
'Tis as easy now for the heart to be true  
As for grass to be green or skies to be blue,--  
'Tis the natural way of living."*" Human nature is the raw Stuff out of which the Kingdom of God is being made.

No. 239

## THE IMPACT OF A GREAT WOMAN

By Kirby Page

Marvelous indeed is the impact of one person upon other individuals, upon society and upon history. Consider the case of Susanna Wesley. Every Englishman is indebted to her because her son John swerved Britain into new channels, and her son Charles taught the Christian church to sing and endowed it with hymns which remain our priceless treasure. Every Methodist around the globe is indebted to Susanna, and every person who ever came under the transforming influence of some Methodist. And there are some ten million Methodists!

Susanna was the twenty-fifth child of Dr. Samuel Annesley, himself a great man. She was pretty and retained her beauty even after she had borne nineteen children. At twenty she

married the Reverend Samuel Wesley. The rectory at Epworth was a three-story wreck of a house. Mr. Wesley got so deeply into debt that he was imprisoned for three months when John was a baby. When the rectory burned, for a moment it was thought that John had perished.

Susanna Wesley took all this in her stride and to an amazing degree was unruffled and in command of the situation. In addition to being mother of a large family, she taught the family school, and carried heavy responsibility in the parish. For twenty years she taught regularly six hours daily. And she lived to be seventy-four! Only God knows how much of what the Wesleys contributed to mankind was poured into them by their mother, Susanna.

No. 240

## WHAT DOTH THE ETERNAL REQUIRE OF THEE?

By Kirby Page

Long ago the prophet Micah Inquired: "*O man, he has Told you what is good; what Does the Eternal ask from you But to be just and kind and Live in quiet fellowship With your God?"*" A teacher Once wanted to know: "*What Command is greatest in the Law?"*" And Jesus reminded Him that love of God is the First and love of man is The second requirement. "*These two commandments Sum up the whole of the Law and the Prophets."*" Once a rich man asked: "*Master, what good deed Must I do to obtain eternal Life?"*" And the reply was: "*Above love of money put Love of God and love of Man, for you cannot serve Both God and Money."*" Towering above faith and Hope is love, the topmost Pinnacle of the entire range Of human obligations. Love Is eagerness to give God

Glory and to enjoy him Forever. It is self-giving Concern, warm outreaching Compassion. Love is the Urge to heal wounds and Lift burdens, the impulse To share sustenance. It is Gratitude, appreciation And considerateness. It is Forgiveness, reconciliation And fellowship. Love is Proclaiming good news, and The summoning of comrades To high adventure. It is Patience and persistence. Indeed, "*love knows no Limit to its endurance, No end to its trust, no Fading of its hope: it Can outlast anything. It Is, in fact, the one Thing that still stands When all else has failed.*" To us also is directed The word: One thing thou Lackest, and that is love. Go, get rid of everything That hinders love of God And love of man.

No. 241

## THE ONLY WRATH OF GOD THERE IS

By Kirby Page

our worst sins. Always God confronts us with passion for our wellbeing. Never does he reveal the slightest trace of ill will toward us, never does he display any vindictiveness of spirit. Nothing can separate us from the Grace of God, absolutely nothing.

Out of his great love for us, and because of his compassionate concern for our well-being, God sustains the moral order of the universe and maintains the integrity of the law of the harvest. Good seed produce a good harvest, and not even the Grace of God can prevent an evil harvest from the sowing of evil seed. The good harvest is the expression of the Grace of God, and the evil harvest is the only Wrath of God there is. The Cross of Christ is the supreme revelation of both Grace and Wrath.

No. 242

## THE MEANING OF VICARIOUS SUFFERING

By Kirby Page

Arnold of Rugby, one of the greatest of all teachers, was paid this tribute by the poet Coleridge:

*In him was Jesus  
crucified again.  
For every sin that he  
could not prevent  
Stuck in him like a nail.  
His Heart bled for it,  
As if it had been a foul  
sin of his own.*

A true mother feels this way about the degradation of a daughter, and a faithful friend is humiliated by the disgrace of a companion. It was the glory of Jesus to take the virtues of the family, heighten them, and to face all life in their mood. In veritable truth he lived as a good member of God's family.

Imagination enables us to apprehend more than appears on the surface, and identification makes it possible to enter the experiences of another. It was said that the

prophet Ezekiel so identified himself with the victims of captivity that he sat where they sat and entered into their troubles. Jesus so merged his life with those of his people that he wept over Jerusalem.

Two simple disciplines will help in deepening the relationship of compassion identification. First, repeated reminders that our shame brings shame upon God and our fidelity brings him glory. In the book of Romans we are told that our Father grieves over us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And second, that is the way God feels about every other human being on this earth. The manner in which I live and the mode of life of others with whom I have contacts makes a vital difference to God himself. The impact of this truth rocks us to the center of our being.

No. 243

## AND BEHOLD IT IS VERY GOOD

By Kirby Page

At the close of the first Chapter of Genesis we read: "*And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good.*" In every Direction the eyes of God Perceive the beautiful, The true and the good, for The whole earth is full of His glory. He gazes in Rapture at the starry Firmament, with its myriads Of twinkling lights, vast Space, inconceivable speed, And amazing precision. He Turns the book of seasons And exults in the sequence Of unique beauty of spring And summer, fall and winter. He surveys the scene from Himalayas to Alps to Andes And traces the course of Nile and Mississippi and Amazon. Everywhere he views Lake and forest, shrub and Flower, and hears music of Whispering treetops and Sweet song of birds On swaying boughs.

God rejoices in the pure Love of a man for a maid, And in the deep affection of Parent for child. His heart Is made merry as he enters a Joyous home, and warmed Within him as he seats Himself at family prayers. He glows with satisfaction As he observes men pursuing Noble ideals, responding to The sense of duty, and Paying the price of supreme Affection. He is thrilled At the sight of a man Shouldering the heavy Burden of a weaker neighbor And as he watches a woman Take food from her own Meager larder for a Stricken Friend. When he Hears words of confession And the response of Forgiveness, he trembles With sheer joy. He enters Into the aspirations of men For reconciliation as they Seek the city beautiful In the good society.

No. 244

## LEARN FROM THE GIANT SAGUARO

By Kirby Page

If you want your imagination to explore God's ways of equipping man to triumph over adversity, acquaint yourself with the structure and endowments of plant life and of animals in the desert.

The Giant Saguaro is one of the most miraculous of all God's creations. It thrives in the desert with the temperature as high as 130 degrees, and sometimes lives to be two hundred and fifty years old, although it may not be blessed with a drop of rain for as long as three years. It never fails to produce an annual crop of fruit, which helps to sustain life for insects, birds and animals, and makes a delicious preserve for human enjoyment. It is further equipped for survival with a trunk which no animal can climb and which no creature nibbles away.

Other miracles are to be found in the desert, includ-

ing the cholla, "a miniature fortress, fighting for its right to exist;" the cactus wren which builds its nest and rears its young within the bristling cholla; the century plant which blooms just once in its lifetime.

Enter into this experience of the beauty of the desert: "*Turquoise skies, far horizons, vast reaches, blue-veiled mountains with tinted peaks gray granite crags and purple-shadowed canyons, flaming wonder of the sunset, still mystery of the star-crowded night, gentle majesty of the of the morning, golden glory of the sun-filled day, an almost unbroken carpet of living color, turned to gold by wild poppies, when one could not put foot to the ground without crushing a blossom.*"

Surely the living God is able out of the soil of human adversity, to make the soul blossom as a rose.

No. 245

## THE MARVEL OF MAN'S POWER OF RESPONSE

By Kirby Page

Miraculous is the receptive Capacity of the human soul. What is man, that he should Be thrown into ecstasy at The sight of beauty, the Sound of harmony, the Grandeur of great ideas, The magnetic power of Exalted ideas? Why such An exclamation as this From David Morton? "*God, that a sky should be as blue as this,*  
*As grave and beautiful and filled with light*  
*For those far-faring birds whose way it is*  
*To lose themselves at last in lonely flight!*  
*And yet, so much my own, so dear, so dear,*  
*Is all a summer sky may be or do,*  
*That though I shut my eyes it still is here,*  
*As beautiful as ever, and as blue.*  
*There, with its hidden stars, its lonely birds,*

*And here in me, no less, by day, by night,*  
*Aye, even in this poem as I write,*  
*Spreading its blue again above these words ---*  
*So that I half expect, as day declines,*  
*To see the stars look out among these lines.*"  
And how do you explain This experience of Katharine Howard?  
"*Beauty possessed me ---*  
*For a space I knew not Time.*  
*The air filtered through gold*  
*Down-sifted from a yellow cloud.*  
*Strange silences were passing by ---*  
*I could not speak aloud.*  
*I scarce could touch my feet to earth,*  
*My bones weighed me so light.*  
*I touched my shoulders, glancing down*  
*Doubting my wings were grown.*" What is man?

No. 246

## THE PERSON I WAS MEANT TO BE .

By Kirby Page

Zacchaeus the collector of Taxes for the Romans became Rich through extortion. Then he climbed a sycamore Tree to get a good look at Jesus, and thereafter could Never be the same man. The Reason for his conversion Is thus phrased by the Novelist Lloyd C. Douglas: "Zacchaeus," said the Carpenter gently, "what Did you see that made you Desire this peace?" "Good Master -- I saw Mirrored in your eyes -- The face of the Zacchaeus I was meant to be!"

The man I was meant to be, The man God means me to be -- Constantly filled with glad Wonder and joyous adoration Of the majesty and wisdom Of the Creator, overflowing With reverent gratitude for His holiness and affection, And daily experiencing the Fellowship of prayer and Precious communion with him.

The man God means me to be -- With responsive awareness of The Divine Presence in the Radiant glory of nature, the Sweet song of birds, the Music of the masters, the Lyrics and sonnets of the Poets, the mature wisdom Of the sages, the goodness Of the saints, and the Supreme revelation in Jesus. The man God means me to be -- With simple lovingkindness, Sensitive to the needs of Others, considerate in all Relationships, and ready to Carry a full share of the Burdens of the weak. The man God means me to be -- With faith in the right Because it is right, with Courage to walk with our Lord wherever he leads, With compassion and serenity Blended into fervent trust In the grace of God and His mighty power. The man I am meant to be, Dear God, help me to be.

No. 247

## ANGELS IN ANIMAL BODIES

By Kirby Page

Listen to this cry of distress from St. Paul: "I cannot understand my own actions; I do not act as I desire to act, on the contrary, I do what I detest... Miser-wretch that I am." Mortal man is part animal and part angel. His animal appetites clamor for indulgence, while his spirit yearns for holiness. All of us in varying degrees are like the patient with multiple personality, with three sets of experiences, memories and traits of character, identified by the attending physician as Woman, Saint and Devil. Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde are among the best known characters of fiction because they represent the experience of so many readers.

Desperate is our need of power-- power to escape the tyranny of our physical appetites and selfish ambitions, power to translate our noblest impulses and highest ideals

into behavior. In the New Testament we find recorded the faith that Christianity is a religion of power, the power of God unto salvation. Jesus knew himself to be the vehicle of irresistible power, and sought to prepare his disciples to be clean channels thru which this transforming power could flow into the lives of others. We fail to understand St. Paul when we stop with his confession, "Miserable wretch that I am!" He continues: "Who will rescue me from this body of death? God will! Thanks be to him thru Jesus Christ our Lord!"

God will--to the degree that voluntarily we open all our faculties to his guidance and empowering. The requirement is alertness, resolute endeavor and simple trust. Day by day we must practice the presence of God until we want to do what he wants us to do above every other desire.

No. 248

## FAIL NOT TO FEAST THY SOUL

By Kirby Page

Take thyself often to wooded temples, and feed thy soul on color and fragrance and a sense of leisure. Journey now with John Muir: "Nature with eternal earnestness keeps her autumn holidays, giving gold to the maple leaf, crimson to *Vaccinium*, and scarlet to the leaves and berries of the mountain ash, mellowing her sunbeams, hushing her winds and streams, robing the harsh rocks in soft rosy light, gathering leaves and burrs into hollows, feeding her squirrels and birds, sparing no deed of loving beauty as if she were gardening this canyon above all others.

"Ambrosial days of thick gold. Crimson yellow of clouds. Small isles of mist transfigured. Water moving in luxuriant langour, thick-swelling, rolling folds gliding in silence. Sunlight lying thick and rich, brooding calm in the groves

at sunset, glorifying the edge of night. Long after the valley lies quiet in the shadow the domes still sing warmly with sunshine and echo it back to the meadows.

"The fragrance with which one is feasted in the woods is, like the music, derived from a thousand untraceable sources. So we breathe fragrant violets, the rosiny pine and spicy fir, the rich, invigorating aroma of plushy bogs in which a thousand herbs are soaked. And the air is laden with a multitude of scents gathered from ocean wave-tops, from pine forests and gardens, making a combination so marvelously poised we scarce notice it on account of its excellence. Everywhere is timelessness and infinite leisure."

O worship God in the holiness of beauty!

No. 249

## WHAT WE SHALL BE

By Kirby Page

Let Phillips share with us The insight of this fresh Translation: "*At present All we see is the baffling Reflection of reality; we Are like men looking at a Landscape in a small mirror. The time will come when we Shall see reality whole and Face to face.*" The most Eminent men of science Confess that what we know, As contrasted with what we Do not know, is but a Speck of dust floating in The abyss of space. And Most elementary is our Knowledge of the life of The spirit, the invisible Relationship between man And man and God. Long has Energy been concentrated On mastery of the material World. Thrilling would be The discoveries made if an Equivalent effort were Devoted to ways of deepening Fellowship human and divine!

Many are the intimations That we are on the verge of Marvelous discoveries. The Bankruptcy of materialism Is now visible to all who Will see. Toynbee brings To an end his ten-volume Study of History with an Eloquent plea for religion, And many men of thought are Groping their way toward God. Not on the foundation Of greed and competitive Struggle, but on the solid Rock of love of God and love Of man can the good life be Built, and release given to The boundless potentialities Of human personality. Yes Indeed, "Here and now we Are God's children. We Don't know what we shall Become in the future. We Only know that, if reality Were to break through, we Should reflect His likeness, For we should see him As He really is."

No. 250

## ALL SUNSHINE MAKES SAHARA

By Kirby Page

*"All sunshine makes Sahara,"* runs an Arab proverb. Storms bring rain which nourishes seed in the soil. Jesus did not come to this earth to bring ease and freedom from toil, he came to help men bear their burdens, share with others, love mercy and walk humbly with their God. He promised his disciples that they would experience much joy, the joy of fidelity to the will of God. With equal vigor he promised them much pain, the suffering which flows from faithfulness in a sinful generation.

Read again these familiar words: *"And he began to teach them that it was inevitable that the Son of Man should go through much suffering and be completely repudiated by the elders and Chief Priests and Scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. He told them all this quite bluntly. And this made Peter draw him*

*on one side and take him to task about what he had said. But Jesus turned and faced his disciples and rebuked Peter. 'Out of my way, Satan!' he said. 'Peter, you are not looking at things from God's point of view, but from man's!' Then he called his disciples and the people around him, and said to them, 'If anyone wants to follow in my footsteps, he must give up all right to himself, take up his cross and follow me.'"* Again, *"I have said this to you, that in me you may have peace. In the world you have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."*

Narrow is the road, and straight the gate that leads to life glorious. What often appears to be follishness in God's point of view turns out to be the essence of wisdom, and what seems to be weakness in God is found to be the strength we need.

No. 251

## THROUGH WORSHIP TO PEACE OF SOUL

By Kirby Page

Worship is reverence and Adoration, uttered and Unspoken prayer, holy Thinking and right doing. It is the experience of Gazing into the starry Firmament in sheer wonder And awe. It is exultation Of heart in the presence Of the beauty of sky and Sea, lake and forest, Mountain and valley. Worship is the surging of The soul under the spell Of exalted music and Glorious art. It is the Longing for wisdom and Goodness produced by Reading great poetry and Inspired biography. It is the heart-throb of Parents as they stand by The crib of sleeping babe Moved with high aspiration. It is the enjoyment of Fellowship with kindred Spirits in search of Life's meaning and power.

Worship is thanksgiving to God and confession made to Him. It is fervent petition And earnest intercession For loved ones, friends and Enemies. It is commitment And allegiance to the divine Purpose. It is practicing The presence of God and Speaking oft with thy Lord. It is walking hand in hand With the living Christ Through the clamor of the Day. Worship is doing what You know to be right in the Sight of God, loving mercy And pouring out compassion. It is desiring the holiness Of the Eternal, seeking His truth, opening heart To his love, consecrating Emotion and will to his Service. The ripe harvest Of ardent worship is Peace of soul. At-one-ment with God And Christ And fellowman.

No. 252

## NOBLE LIVES CROWNED BY HEROIC DEATHS

By Kirby Page

The spread of early Christianity was one of the marvels of history. Lecky, the British historian gives these reasons for its triumph: "No religion ever combined so many forms of attraction as Christianity. One great cause of its success was that it produced more heroic actions and formed more upright men than any other creed. Noble lives, crowned by heroic deaths, were the best arguments of the infant Church. There has probably never existed upon earth a community whose members were bound to one another by a deeper or a purer affection than the Christians, in the days of the persecution.

"We read of Christians bound in chains of red-hot iron, while the stench of their half-consumed flesh rose in a suf-

focating cloud to heaven; of others who were torn to the very bone by shells, or hooks of iron; of two hundred and twenty-seven converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by a red-hot iron, and with an eye scopped from its socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in the agonies; of tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. For the love of their Divine Master, for the cause they believed to be true, men, and even weak girls, endured these things without flinching, when one word would have freed them from their sufferings."

Heroic actions! Upright men and women! Noble lives! Continuing in me, O Lord, continuing in me!

## GO WITH EXPECTANCY

By Kirby Page

One tragedy of the modern Sunday is that many people go to church without expectation. It simply does not occur to them that something miraculous may happen while they are in the sanctuary, that they may meet the Eternal face to face, that a profound understanding of Christ may burst upon them, and that they may go out with power and joy to face the problems of life. And we preachers sometimes proclaim the Good News in half-hearted manner with little anticipation, with little expectation that our words will be surcharged with the very power of God unto conviction and transformation of some individual in the congregation.

"Prepare to meet thy God!" is a familiar billboard exhortation. These words ought to be inscribed upon hearts

of ministers and members alike as they enter the house of worship. "Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God," was the mighty slogan of the student movement in the last generation. Because we do not expect enough, we do not attempt enough. It is impossible to maintain zest in futility. If something vital is to happen, we must expect it to happen.

We need frequent reminders of what we really believe. We do believe in the wisdom and love and power of God. We have confidence in the promise of our Lord that the Holy Spirit will guide us. We admit that God in Christ can utterly transform our lives. Let us, therefore, practice awareness, practice expectancy, and practice attempting great things for God.

WHEN THE BIBLE IS TESTED BY  
THE MIND OF CHRIST  
By Kirby Page

The Bible is a book of Life, but often it has been so used as to become a book of Death. On the authority of the eighteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus, thousands of women in many lands were tortured and burned at the stake, for it says plainly: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

A passage of Scripture was for centuries the foundation of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, for the thirteenth chapter of Romans begins: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." The right of even the worse tyrant to reign was justified on the ground that he was God's agent on the throne. King and Kaiser and Czar long used this passage as authority for their demand that their subjects pay

every tax imposed and fight every war waged.

The fifth chapter of Ephesians was for centuries used as a chain to bind women in subjection to men, for it says; "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is head of the church."

A hundred other passages, when considered the infallible word of God himself, have been used in defense of torture, war, slavery and other iniquities.

The Bible is a book of Life when it is read as a record of man's understanding of the revelation of God. Every passage may be tested for degree of maturity by the mind of Christ. Every chapter should be read with the realization that the character of God has always been as good, as Jesus was good when on the cross he prayed for the men who were torturing him.

No. 255

NEVER CAN IT ALL BE WRITTEN  
By Kirby Page

*"There are also a great many Other things which Jesus Did, which if they were Written one by one, not Even this world, I believe, Could contain the books Which would be written."*  
Thus endeth the Gospel Of Saint John. And we in Our day may well ask, What hyperbole would be Ample to portray the total Influence of our Lord upon All mankind in succeeding Centuries. A complete Bibliography of Jesus in All tongues, a full list Of all written works about Him--how colossal would be The number of massive Volumes filled! Imagine What would happen to the Books in our largest Library if, with the blade Of a razor, every reference To Jesus, his teaching and Influence, was cut out! Consider the imprint made By the carpenter of galilee

Upon literature, philosophy, Theology, architecture, art, Music, government, economics, And all social relations--- Upon human ideas and ideals And achievements. This Mighty stream of light and Power has brought joy and Redemption to a numberless Multitude, for the simple Reason: above every other Might in the universe, save Only the infinite energy of The Eternal, Jesus has been Able to generate holy love--- An adoring communion with Our heavenly Father, and A continuing effort to Do God's will in acts of Lovingkindness---and to Weave a seamless garment Of ardent fellowship of man With man and with God. Only the boundlessness Of the universe, and The timelessness of eternity Can contain a record Of all the things Which Jesus has done.

No. 256

## THE GRACE OF GOD REVEALED

By Kirby Page

"In the fall of 1945, I met a Polish woman in Stockholm," writes Douglas V. Steere. "During the war she had been forced by the Germans to work in the death camp at Auschwitz and had been compelled to clear the gas chambers. She had failed three times in attempts at suicide, the work was so horrible, and finally she had escaped and made her way with a group of Poles to Sweden. Now the Polish government had invited her to return to Poland. But before she accepted she wondered if the Quakers were doing any work for her enemies, the suffering Germans in Germany, in which she could join us. As I looked at the sincere yearning to serve those who had abused her, I saw a glint of the patient Grace of God.

"And I saw it again in Lennart Segerstrole, who is perhaps Finland's greatest living painter. If ever anyone

had ground to hate the Russians and the Germans, it was this sensitive Finnish artist. Instead, I sat at the table with him and saw with my own eyes the passion with which he told me that he saw his own task and Finland's as being to reach in some way the deep and precious soul of Russia and to help in binding up the wounded body of broken Germany. He was himself at work painting a great mural depicting 'The Atonement of the World.' God has not left us without revelation of His Grace at work in our time."

Let us pray:

*"Purge me, O God, with thy refining fire! Nor heavy rest Thy blame, when flesh shrinks from the flame! Give me a task too big, too hard for human hands. Then I shall come at length to lean on Thee, and leaning, find my strength!"*

(Wilbur Humphrey Fowler).

No. 257

## A DIVINE COLONY

By Kirby Page

If you would deepen your appreciation of the sheer goodness of God, reflect upon the quality of life exhibited by the best members of the best human families ever to live on this earth. Then remind yourself that all this superior love is merely a faint reflection of the character of God, whose holiness is as far above human goodness as we are distant from the most remote point in space.

The most moving record of a mother's devotion to her children, the tenderest story of a husband's care of his wife, the loveliest account of human friendship -- these point to the goodness of God. So it is not strange that our Father loves the wicked while they are wicked, and that he forgives the erring and thus prompts repentance, and that he seeks

the lost until he finds.

Truly we are members of the divine family, dwelling with our loved ones in the mansion of God. Three hundred years ago Thomas Traherne exclaimed: "Your enjoyment of the world is never right, till every morning you awake in Heaven; see yourself in your Father's Palace, and look upon the skies, the earth and the air as Celestial Joys; have such a reverend esteem of all as if you were among the angels. Till you can sing and rejoice and delight in God, as misers do in gold, and Kings in scepters, you never enjoy the world."

Jesus taught his disciples to pray, "*Thy Kingdom Come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*" Beginning in me, dear God, beginning in me!

No. 258

## WITH WINDOWS WIDE OPEN

By Kirby Page

Because the practice of the Presence of God is more Crucial than the practice Of any physical skill, we Must train ourselves to pay Attention to God until, With Bliss Carman, we enter Into more exhilarating Fellowship with him: "I took a day to search for God, And found Him not. But as I trod By rock ledge, through woods untamed, Just where one scarlet lily flamed, I saw His footprint in the sod. Then suddenly, all unaware, Far off in the deep shadows, where A solitary hermit thrush Sang through the holy twilight hush -- I heard His voice upon the air.

*And even as I marvelled how God gives us Heaven here and now, In a stir of wind that hardly shook The poplar leaves beside the brook -- His hand was light upon my brow. At last with evening as I turned Homeward, and thought what I had learned And all that there was still to probe -- I caught the glory of His robe Where the last fires of sunset burned. Back to the world with quickening start I looked and longed for any part In making saving Beauty be. And from that kindling ecstasy I knew God dwelt within my heart."*

No. 259

## LIKE LOVELY PERFUME

By Kirby Page

"A Persian fable says: One Day a wanderer found a piece Of clay so redolent of sweet Perfume its odor scented all The room. 'What art thou?' Was the quick demand. 'Art Thou some gem from Samarcand Or spikenard rare in rich Disguise? Or other costly Merchandise?' 'Nay, I am But a piece of clay.' 'Then Whence this wondrous Sweetness, pray?' 'Friend, If the secret I disclose, I have been dwelling with A rose.'" In the Book of The Acts of the Apostles we Read: "Now when they saw The boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that They were uneducated, common Men, they wondered; and They recognized that they Had been with Jesus." Dwelling with a rose! They had been with Jesus! Like a golden thread running Through the New Testament is The reiteration that when

A man is in Christ Jesus he Is a new creature. Most of The leaders of the early Church had been with Jesus In the flesh, and to the Rank and file came power From being with their living Lord. Their human spirits Communed with the Holy Spirit of God and with the Presence of their beloved Master and Redeemer, until They became permeated Through and through with Divine aroma. Thus we Hear Saint Paul exclaim: "Wherever I go, thank God, He makes my life a constant Pageant of triumph in Christ, diffusing the Perfume of his knowledge Everywhere by me. I live For God as the fragrance of Christ." All this was true In olden times, and it is Supposed to be the mark of A Christian today. "Breathe On me, Breath of God, till I am wholly thine." Amen.

No. 260

## THE MYSTERIOUS JOURNEY OF LIFE

By Kirby Page

Bildad the Shuhite  
Said to ancient Job:  
"Behold these are the  
Outskirts of his way; and  
How slight a whisper do we  
Hear of him! But the  
Thunder of his power, who  
Could comprehend?"  
Mystery enshrouds us; veil  
After veil hangs between us  
And the unsullied majesty  
Of the Eternal. Of the  
Full resonance of his Word  
Our ears catch only remote  
Reverberations. And about  
The depth of his warm and  
Compassionate love we know  
Less than an infant, one  
Hour from birth, grasps the  
Meaning of motherhood.  
Why, oh why should the  
Spirit of mortal be proud?  
And how like quicksand is  
The foundation of human  
Conceit and arrogance!  
Least warranted of all is  
Heated religious bigotry,  
The illusion that our  
Branch of the family of

Religion has monopoly, or at  
Least ninety-nine and forty-  
Four hundredths percent of  
Truth. When with historical  
Perspective we survey the  
Desolation wrought by  
Religious conflict, it is  
Easy to understand why a  
Humble and contrite heart  
Is so pleasing to God. And  
Let the reminder quickly  
Be given that humility is  
Not the same as flabby lack  
Of conviction. One of the  
Most glorious of utterances  
Is the New Testament  
Exultation, "*Behold, how  
These Christians love one  
Another!*" The requirement  
Imposed by a loving Father  
Upon his growing children  
Is fidelity to the  
Fragments of Truth they  
Now hold, zealous search  
For new insight,  
And lovingkindness  
To fellow-travelers  
Along the mysterious  
Journey of Life.

No. 261

## THE SONG OF THE EARTH

By Kirby Page

And Nature, that old nurse,  
knows many secrets of healing  
the tired soul. Catch this  
feeling of Fred Wentzel: "The  
whole earth sings. A boy  
kneels between the two shallow  
furrow in his father's  
garden. Then he bends in al-  
most complete stillness as his  
right hand pushes into the  
soil. The sun is warm upon  
his back. His thoughts are  
full of the mystery of seeds  
and growth and harvest. A  
strange exciting music runs  
through him as he dimly senses  
his oneness with the life of  
the world. He has heard the  
song of the earth.

"A girl walks in a summer  
field, white and gold with flow-  
ers. Her eyes marvel at the  
wind that sways grass and  
billows her dress, and at the  
slow flowing of white clouds  
above. A woman stands smil-  
ing before a bed of roses. She  
remembers the little plants  
she gave to the soil in other

summers, the rich loam that  
ran through her fingers and  
was tamped well over the  
roots, the watering when the  
small rains failed, the weeding  
and the pruning. Now the  
velvet petals, fruit of her work-  
ing and her waiting, shine in  
the sun.

"A farmer is on his way from  
the field to the house. The  
day's cultivation is done. The  
farmer and his two sons walk  
wearily. 'Look!' exclaims the  
father, pointing toward the  
western horizon, where the set-  
ting sun is painting great clouds  
in amazing rose and yellow and  
green. 'Isn't it beautiful?'  
The three tired hungry farmers  
stand in silence. They are  
awed by the song of the earth."

With Elizabeth Browning, we  
know, "Earth's crammed with  
heaven, and every common  
bush afire with God: but only  
he who sees, takes off his  
shoes; the rest sit round it and  
pluck blackberries."

No. 262

## THE RING OF AUTHORITY

By Kirby Page

If we are to understand the religion of Jesus, we must realize the contrast between his approach and that of the ecclesiastical leaders of his day. In the Gospel of Mark we read: "*They were amazed at his way of teaching, for he taught with the ring of authority, quite unlike the Scribes.*"

Professor George Foot Moore, in his monumental two-volume work, "Judaism," has this illuminating passage: "This foundation of Judaism is the belief that religion is revealed. Specific commandments had been given to Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jacob; to Moses the complete revelation was given once for all. The prophets who came after him repeated, explained, emphasized, applied, what was revealed to Moses; they added nothing to it. The rabbinical schools had no theory of the mode of prophetic inspiration; but it was with them an un-

contested axiom that every syllable of Scripture had the verity and authority of the word of God. The notion of progressive revelation was impossible: the revelation to Moses was complete and final; no other prophet should ever make any innovation in the law. Inspiration being thenceforth a thing of the past, men had the ancient word of God in the Scripture that had come down from former times."

The ring of authority in the teaching of Jesus came from experience. God was more real to him than any human being could be, and day by day he received divine revelation. Moreover, he promised his disciples that they also would be guided by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. God has never left himself without a witness, and he will continue speaking directly to men until the end of eternity.

No. 263

## THE MIRACLE OF MEMORY

By Kirby Page

Memory is a miracle. Incredible it is that a Man should remember his Yesteryears, relive the Experiences of childhood, And count over the blessings Of youth. Deep the joy of Recalling, as if only hours Ago, the bliss of falling in Love and being loved, the Early months of wedded life, Intimations of the coming Of a new member of the home And the first cry of Hunger, the first step and The first word. No need To get out the old album, Scenes of long ago are Etched in permanent ink Upon the mind. Under the Spell of nature, of music, Of friendship, memory is Flooded with exaltations Of other days, a Bible Class in one of four Corners of a tiny church, Walking down the aisle to Make public confession of Faith in the Lord Jesus,

The first short talk at Christian Endeavor, the Moment when the minister's Wife put hand on shoulder And said, "*You ought to be a Preacher.*" The pain of Theological growth, that Stammering first sermon, the Joy and the tragedy of Parish visitation. Beyond Forgetting are the deep Satisfactions coming from Much reading, the discovery Of poetry and the rapture Of great music. Then the Welcoming of a new son and a New daughter and the coming Of eight grandchildren. Memories of mistakes made And sins committed are Swallowed up in a tidal Surge of recollections of Privileges enjoyed, happy Times in the home, Absorption in creative Work, and the blessed Hour of prayer. And Tomorrow's memories are Being stored today.

No. 264

## THE QUAKER WAY TO PEACE OF MIND

By Kirby Page

The Quakers have much to teach us about peace of mind. In marvelous degree they have often combined serenity and compassion. In the experience of the faithful member of the Society of Friends there is much silence--in the meeting, in the home, during the day's work. The ancient admonition, "*Be still, and know that I am God,*" has been taken seriously. In the session for business, no vote is taken. After quiet preparation of mind and heart, discussion and examination of varying points of view, the sense of the meeting is felt and recorded, or no decision is made until unity of will is reached.

The Quaker way is rooted in the deep conviction: "In every man there is that of God, an inner light which enables him to discern the will of God and provides power to do it. In private prayer and in corporate worship, the individual centers down in living silence.

A venerable Quaker like Rufus Jones in his latter days has been ministered to by thousands of hours of expectant waiting for the stirring of the spirit. Hurring into action is not the way of the Friends, who have had three hundred years of experience with the power of quietness. Yet they have earned the warm gratitude of mankind for their hearts of compassion and deeds of lovingkindness.

The Quakers have long pondered over the words of our Lord: "*The Counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you. Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you. Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid.*" Human redemption awaits the perfect union of serenity and compassion.

No. 265

## JUVENILE AND ADULT LONELINESS

By Kirby Page

Juvenile crime is increasing and constitute one of our most ominous problems. Sometimes revolting offences are committed by boys and girls from respectable homes, often to the complete surprise of parents who had lost intimate contact with their children. When questioned these young criminals frequently reveal a feeling of loneliness and seem to have no sense of responsibility, except to their own gang. To this group they give their loyalty and for it they will lie or steal or kill. That is the way it is with human beings, all of us seek escape from loneliness and the feeling of not being wanted, and all of us have a craving for something to which we can give ourselves.

Deep are the resources of religion upon which we can draw as we confront the dual problem of juvenile delinquency and parental delin-

quency. Reflect upon a momentous truth which we Christians accept -- we need God and God needs us. The good society cannot be built by the Eternal alone or by unaided human effort. Our Father's purpose is the establishment of his home of love, and since only free individuals can love, God never treats us as puppets or mechanical instruments. God is love and love is always a two-way relationship. Thus our Father needs human affection and requires human help -- in feeding the hungry, in healing the sick, in teaching the ignorant, in providing for daily human needs, in maintaining right human relationships, in building the good society.

Here is the cure for loneliness and irresponsibility -- work with God and with people in building the beloved community.

No. 266

## AND GOD SAID

By Kirby Page

An announcement in the paper Said that at nine o'clock in The evening the Lord God Almighty would, from all Stations throughout the Universe, bring an important Message. That is what we Dreamed we read. So we Turned our dial to God, And this is what we heard: "Love kindness and walk Humbly before me. Let Justice roll down like Water, and righteousness Like an ever-flowing Stream. You shall not Steal. You shall not commit Adultery. Honor father and Mother, but never love them More than you love me. You Shall have no other gods Before me. Be still, and Know that I am God. Ask, And it will be given you. Seek first the kingdom of Righteousness. Blessed are The pure in heart. Blessed Are the merciful. Blessed

*Are the peacemakers. Love Your enemies, and pray for Those who persecute you. Forgive as you would be Forgiven. Lay up no Treasures on earth. Do Unto others as you would Have them do to you."* And as the Word resounded In our soul, we cried Aloud: Create within us A clean heart, O God, and Put a new and right spirit Within us. So teach us to Number our days that we May get a heart of wisdom. O, send out thy light and Thy truth, let them bring Us to thy holy hill. Let thy will be done on Earth as it is in heaven. Rib with steel our resolve To rise, shine, and give Thee glory. Fortify With intensity our desire To do thy holy will and Trustfully leave the results In thy loving hands. Amen.

No. 267

## ONLY LOVE CAN SEE

By Kirby Page

Long has the falsehood Passed from lip to lip that Love is blind. The truth Is that only love can see. The tender affection of the Mother of a deformed child Enables her to behold Untold possibilities in That young life. A lovely Story records the pure love Of a terribly-scarred man And a horribly-disfigured Woman as they experienced Bliss in their enchanted Cottage. The burning Compassion of our Lord Enabled him to see the Image of the Eternal God In leper and outcast and Sordid woman. Love sees Priceless worth in every Human soul and sends Missionaries to the utmost Reaches of the earth in The endeavor to bring life Abundant to the needy. Glorious is the vision of Life as it is meant to Be lived, with every person

Looking upon every other Person through the eyes of Love. Then would come to Pass this experience: "Once, on a cliff, I saw perfection happen -- The full gold moon was balanced on the sea, Just as the red sun rested on the moors. The summer evening ripened and fell open; And people walking through that fruit's rich core Were suddenly what they were meant to be, Quiet and happy, soft moving, lovely, With still, translucent faces and clear eyes, And all their heads and bodies brightly rimmed With delicate gold, so radiantly, so gravely, These people walked, so crowned, so golden-limbed, The cliff seemed like an edge of Paradise." (Winifred Welles).

No. 268

Please send sample copies of publications in which these readings are used to Kirby Page, Box 247, La Habra, California.

## GOD IS THIS GOOD

By Kirby Page

Richard Roberts was one of the great preachers of the past generation, holding pulpits in London, New York, Toronto and Montreal. Listen to his word about the cross of Christ.

"The end was inevitable. The ecclesiastical authorities had made up their minds that Jesus should die .... Jesus was hurried to Golgotha and there was crucified. And so far as Caiaphus and Pilate were concerned, the trouble was over. Yet we face this amazing paradox.. that ever since that day the incident on Calvary has stood out as the most significant event recorded in history....

"What indignity and injustice a man might suffer, He suffered; false witness, crooked judgment, insult and derision--all came to Him.... He had come through the mire of hate and lies, and it had left neither spot nor stain on

His love; and the final insult of the crucifixion left it untouched and undiminished. 'Courage in strife,' says Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, 'is common enough; even the dogs have it. But the courage which can face ultimate defeat of a life of good will and yet crave forgiveness of a wild and angry mob, because ignorance has no light, that is different. That is victory, if that fine word has any meaning at all.'

"Here lies the primary power of the Cross--this spectacle of a love that would not let go of man and of a faith that would not let go of God. To love when hate is trampling you under foot in its mud, to go on trusting God, when your dearest hope lies dead, as Jesus did--this is the final splendour of personality." And this is the clearest revelation of the character of God. God is this good.

No. 269

## THE WONDER OF CONTAGION

By Kirby Page

"There is no fact in the history of the human mind more remarkable than the complete unconsciousness of the importance and the destinies of Christianity, manifested by the Pagan writers before the accession of Constantine." Thus writes a modern historian, who goes on to contrast the ample information they have given us concerning the growth of Roman luxury, with their almost absolute silence concerning the growth of Christianity.

The law of the harvest is full of mystery. Things are not always what they seem. How absolute appeared the power of the Roman governor as he sent Jesus to the cross of torture, and how pitifully feeble seemed his victim writhing in anguish! How quickly the empire of Alexander the Great disintegrated and collapsed, and how rapidly the kingdom of the Lord Jesus spread!

The triumph of the early

Christians was all the more amazing because for a long time there were no church buildings, no professional clergymen, and few members of wealth. The good news spread by contagion, from individual, to individual, as laymen went about their daily tasks and as they traveled in the course of their business. Services of worship were held in homes and were conducted by laymen. Thus we find St. Paul writing to the Corinthians: "...not many of you were wise according to worldly standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth; but God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise, God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong." "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of hosts." "For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men."

O Lord, we believe; help thou our unbelief.

No. 270

## LIKE A MIGHTY TIDE

By Kirby Page

In the realm of devotional literature, certain books come to be known as "religious classics" because they are used over and over, year after year, with ever deeper power. Such a volume is "A Testament of Devotion" by Thomas R. Kelly, published after his death in 1941. Through his eyes see brighter glory in life.

"Deep within us all there is an amazing sanctuary of the soul, a holy place, a Divine Center, a speaking Voice, to which we may continuously return. Eternity is at our hearts pressing upon our time-torn lives, warming us with intimations of an astounding destiny, calling us home unto Itself. Yielding to these persuasions, gladly committing ourselves in body and soul, utterly and completely, to the Light Within, is the begin-

ing of true life. It is a dynamic, a creative Life that presses to birth within us. It is a Light Within which illuminates the face of God and casts new shadows and new glories upon the face of men...

"There come times when prayer pours forth in volume and originality such as we cannot create. It rolls through us like a mighty tide. Our prayers are mingled with a vaster Word, a Word that at one time was made flesh. We pray, and yet it is not we who pray, but a Greater who prays in us. In holy hush we bow in Eternity, and know the Divine Concern tenderly enwrapping us and all things within His persuading love. Life from the Center is a life of unhurried peace and power. It is simple. It is serene. It is amazing. It is triumphant. It is radiant."

## THE UNSEEN MAY BE SEEN

By Kirby Page

Glorious is God's gift of Seeing and hearing, feeling And smelling and tasting. Beyond description are the Delights coming through the Senses. But the unseen And unheard and untasted Are beyond all imagining. Well may we exclaim, With Philip M. Raskin: "There are many invisible fires That fuse heaven and earth; There are many untoachable wires That bind death to birth. Not a leaf has ever fluttered Singly and apart; Not a word was ever uttered But echoed in a heart. A cord from human eye concealed Ties Here to Beyond; Touch a blade in the field, And a star will respond." And cry aloud, With Jessie B. Rittenhouse:

"I go in vesture spun by hands Upon no loom of earth, I dwell within a shining house That has no walls nor hearth; I live on food more exquisite Than honey of the bee. More delicate than manna It falls to nourish me; But none may see my shining house, Nor taste my food so rare, And none may see my moon-spun robe Nor my star-powdered hair." Long ago our Lord Jesus Said to his disciples; "I have food to eat that You know nothing about." All around is the unseen Waiting to be seen, the Unheard to be heard, the Untasted to be tasted, And the unexperienced To be experienced.

## THE FAITH OF ATHEISM

By Kirby Page

Faith is the cornerstone of religion, but atheism also rests upon faith. Consider this familiar passage from Bertrand Russell and realize how it breathes with faith in automatic creation rather than faith in God the Creator:

"That Man is product of causes which have no pre-  
vision of the ends they were  
achieving; that his origin, his  
growth, his hopes and fears,  
his loves and his beliefs, are  
but the outcome of accidental  
collactions of atoms; that no  
fire, no heroism, no intensity  
of thought and feeling, can  
preserve an individual life  
beyond the grave; that all the  
labours of the ages, all the  
devotion, all the inspiration,  
all the noonday brightness of  
human genius, are destined  
to extinction in the vast death  
of the solar system, and that  
the whole temple of Man's  
achievement must inevitably  
be buried beneath the debris

of a universe in ruins...only  
within the scaffolding of these  
truths, only on the firm founda-  
tion of unyielding despair,  
can the soul's habitation hence-  
forth be safely built."

Consider the faith required  
to believe that the fidelity of  
Socrates to truth, even though  
it cost him the cup of hem-  
lock, as being no more than  
"accidental collocations of  
atoms." Try to account for  
the blitheness and radiance  
of Saint Francis as resting  
upon "the firm foundation of  
unyielding despair." Read  
again the twenty-third Psalm,  
the Sermon on the Mount, the  
thirteenth chapter of First  
Corinthians, and try to be-  
lieve that on atheism alone  
"can the soul's habitation  
be safely built." Try to do  
it, and you will find the ef-  
fort more stupendous than  
holding simple faith in the  
God and Father of our Lord  
Jesus Christ.

No. 273

## THE DEPTH OF OUR PASSION FOR GOD

By Kirby Page

Men have traveled many  
roads in their search for God.  
Often they have resorted to  
flight from society. In the  
days of Jesus, small colonies  
of Essenes, who had des-  
paired of the world, were liv-  
ing as celibates on the edge  
of desolation. An exodus of  
consecrated Christians to the  
desert occurred in the third  
and fourth centuries. Anthony  
of Egypt in early life renounced  
his earthly fortune, fled to  
the wilderness, spent the re-  
mainder of his days in prayer  
and contemplation, his only  
human contacts being with  
fellow-hermits in isolated  
caves. Paul of Thebes spent  
ninety years in solitude.

Simeon Stylites lived atop  
of a sixty-foot pillar for thirty  
years. Only once in forty-two  
years did Daniel the Stylite  
break his seclusion. Beas-  
tion spent forty days and nights  
in the midst of thorn-bushes,  
and for forty years never laid

down when he slept. Thou-  
sands of devout men and wo-  
men mutilated their bodies  
and subjected themselves to  
countless forms of self-torture.  
Chasity and celibacy were  
so exalted that John of Lyco-  
polis for forty-eight years re-  
fused to look upon the face  
of a woman. Many cases are  
recorded of refusal to talk  
even with mother or sister.

Nowadays we turn in abhor-  
rence from this record of self-  
mutilation and self-denial.  
But we must realize that what  
was pleasing to God was the  
passionate longing for divine  
companionship, and the earn-  
estness of the effort to bring  
the body under control of the  
spirit. And well may we in-  
quire of ourselves: how ser-  
iously do we practice the pre-  
sence of God? how fervent  
is our praying? how effective  
is the discipline exercised by  
our spirits over our bodies?

No. 274

## THE EYES OF GOD SEE

By Kirby Page

The eyes of God see. Nothing Is obscured from his vision, Absolutely nothing, not even The invisible. From his Mercy-seat he looks across The endless universes and Into the depth of every Human soul. He beholds the Twinkle of every star and Reads every thought of man. The plaintive cry of a Starving child in India he Hears, and the moan of a Leper in China. His heart Throbs with the anguish of A deserted wife in Brazil, And beats in unison with a Bereaved mother in Peru as The sod falls with heavy Thud upon the coffin of her Only son. Deeply does he Enter into the misery of a Lovely young girl in Sweden Who has been betrayed and Spurned by the man she loves More than life itself. God Writhes in torment with A father in Spain whose Son followed paternal

Example in a life of crime Which was snapped out on The gallows. He feels the Shame of a Negro in Georgia Whose days are filled with Cruel humiliations at the Hands of arrogant white men. He goes with the delivery Boy in Montana bearing the Fatal message that dear John Was killed in the line of Duty. 'Yes, "*a voice is Heard in Ramah, lamentation, And bitter weeping, Rachael Weeping for her children.*"' That voice is heard by the Loving Spirit of the Eternal, and every cry of Suffering from every human Heart. God really is as Compassionate as was Jesus When in anguish he wept Over the people of Jerusalem. "*Blessed be The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of all mercies and God of all comfort.*"' Amen, amen, amen.

No. 275

## THE DIVINE GIFT OF SONG

By Kirby Page

When the applause had ended, the great Toscanini turned to the singer and exclaimed, "A voice like yours is only heard about once a century."

Marian Anderson was born in 1908 in the dilapidated Negro section of South Philadelphia. Her father peddled ice in the summer, coal and wood in the winter. Much sacrifice made possible the purchase of a violin and second-hand piano for Marian. At the age of eight she began to sing in the choir of the Union Baptist Church, where she soon became known as "the baby contralto." When her father died, Mrs. Anderson went to work scrubbing floors in a department store. One day her mother handed her some money which she had saved and told her to go to a famous conservatory and begin lessons in singing. But her application was denied, "we don't take colored." Finally she was accepted as a pupil by Giuseppe Boghetti,

the eminent teacher. The beginning fee of one hundred twenty-five dollars was provided by a church benefit concert. Thus Marian was provided with opportunity.

At seventeen in a competition she won the right to appear as soloist with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, followed by a concert tour of American cities. But it was not until she went to Europe in 1932 that she became famous. Her concerts across Europe and in South America constituted a triumphal procession. In 1939 when the D.A.R. refused permission for her to sing in Constitution Hall, arrangements were made for her to appear on Easter Sunday in front of the Lincoln Memorial, where seventy-five thousand people were enthralled by her singing. After her concert in Houston, a newspaper reported, "If there was a dry eye in the house, it was because they sold a seat to a stone man."

No. 276

THE TOUCH OF AN ETERNAL PRESENCE  
By Kirby Page

The touch of an Eternal Presence thrills the Fringes of the hills, Exclaims the poet. And All of us in some spot of Loveliness have felt the Reality of God. So Thomas S. Jones, Jr. Is impelled to write: "Tonight eternity alone is near; The sea, the sunset, and the darkening blue; Within their shelter is no space for fear, Only the wonder that such things are true... The earth grows silent as a moon of fire Moves slowly up the calm awaiting skies; Beneath a silver veil the waters gleam; Nature breathes beauty, yet the soul's desire Turns ever to the unknown land where lies The white immortal City of its dream."

The hills, the ocean and The forest alike create a Mood of worship. Share This experience with Clinton Scollard: "Between the pillars of the pine A lofty and secluded nave Where lights are blue and beryline, A low wind sends a singing stave. It may be fancy, yet I deem There is wonder in the wood As though each tree were in a dream Of something holy as the rood. It seems as though within this space, These immemorial confines, There were a brooding sense of grace As though God walked amid the pines."

No. 277

THE SORROW AND SHAME OF NEGLECTING GOD  
By Kirby Page

"*Theologica Germanica*" is the title of an anonymous book which Martin Luther found and published with this high word of praise: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands from which I learned more of what God and Christ and man and all things are." It was written about 1350 and passed through seventeen editions in the lifetime of Luther, and more than ninety editions to date.

Five eternal truths stand out like Himalayan peaks: *I would fain be to the Eternal Goodness what his own hand is to a man.*

*But it is a sorrow and shame to think that the Eternal Goodness is ever most graciously guiding and drawing us and we will not yield to it.*

*Be simply and wholly bereft of self.*

*Nothing burneth in hell but self-will.*

*All deception beginneth in self-deception.*

For four hundred years Christians of many tongues and in many lands have found nourishment in such words as these: "*For the more a man hath of ownership, the more he hath of hell and misery; and the less of self-will, the less of hell, and the nearer to he is the Kingdom of Heaven. And could a man, while on earth, be wholly quit of self-will and ownership, and stand up free and at large in God's true light, and continue therein, he would be sure of the Kingdom of Heaven... For the more a man followeth after his own self-will, and self-will groweth in him, the farther off he is from God, the true Good... But it is a sorrow and shame to think that the Eternal Goodness is ever most graciously guiding and drawing us, and we will not yield to it.*"

No. 278

## WHEN GOD SHINES THROUGH

By Kirby Page

A little boy was watching the setting sun with its crimson and gold and blue. Suddenly he exclaimed, "Oh mamma, now I know why the sunset is so beautiful, because God has got behind it and He is shining through." With this vision, read deliberately John Ruskin's prose poem:

"The storm swept finally to north, and the noble outlines of the domes of Albano rose against pure streaks of alternate blue and amber, the upper sky gradually flushing through the last fragments of rain-cloud in deep, palpitating azure, half ether and half dew. I cannot call it color, it was conflagration. Purple and crimson and scarlet, like the curtains of God's tabernacle; the rejoicing trees sank into the valley in showers of light, every separate leaf qui-

vering with buoyant and burn-life; each, as it turned to reflect or to transmit the sunbeam, first a torch and then an emerald. Far up into the recesses of the valley, the green vistas arched like the hollows of mighty waves of some crystalline sea, with the arbutus flowers dashed along their flanks for foam, and silver flakes of orange spray tossed into the air around them, breaking over the gray walls of rock into a thousand separate stars. Every blade of grass burned like the golden floor of heaven, opening in sudden gleams as the foliage broke and closed above it, as sheet-lightning opens in a cloud at sunset."

"Holy, Holy, Holy! Lord God Almighty! All thy works shall praise Thy Name, in earth, and sky and sea!"

No. 279

## OH GOD, LET ME BE AWARE

By Kirby Page

Oh God, let me be aware!  
Open my eyes and let me see.  
Unstop my ears that I may  
Hear. Do thou make  
Sensitive my appreciation  
Of fragrance in the air.  
Refine my sense of taste.  
And give me a heart that  
Feels with deep compassion.  
Keep alert my spirit to  
Miracles everywhere, in  
Starry firmament and  
Celestial spaces, in earth  
And sea and sky. Deepen  
My sense of wonder in the  
Presence of the beautiful  
And the harmonious, the  
True and the pure, the good  
And the noble. Flood my  
Soul with a feeling of awe  
As I behold miracles of  
Human thought, wondrous  
Deeds of mercy, glorious  
Acts of heroism, and the  
Grace of forgiveness.  
Fire my imagination that  
I may glimpse latent  
Capacities for greatness in  
All thy sons and daughters.

Oh thou Good Shepherd, who  
Ever seeketh until thou dost  
Find, attune me to hear  
Thy gentle knock upon the  
Inner door of my life, and  
Prompt me with gladness of  
Heart to open wide every  
Faculty to thy enlightening  
And to thy empowering.  
Teach me to be at home in  
The invisible world of the  
Spirit, and develop within  
Me the homing instinct.  
Awaken my soul to the  
Intimate presence of our  
Living Lord. Make warm and  
Tender my affection for him,  
And help me to be loyal.  
Grant unto me vision  
To behold the countless  
Miseries of thy people, and  
Implant within me strong  
Desire to shoulder my share  
Of the anguish of mankind.  
Bind me in fellowship with  
Men of all the continents,  
And kindle within me the  
Spirit of lovingkindness.  
Oh God, let me be aware!

No. 280

## THE JOY OF FIDELITY

By Kirby Page

Joy comes from loyalty,  
And peace of soul from  
Fidelity. But steadfast  
Devotion to the Good  
Sometimes brings collision  
With this world's standards  
And practices. Jesus came  
To be the most feared man  
In all the land and was  
Crucified as an enemy of the  
Community. Eleven of the  
Twelve apostles met death  
By martyrdom. Saint Paul  
Suffered much opposition  
Before his own execution.  
For more than two hundred  
Years the early Christians  
Were feared, suspected, and  
Some were thrown into the  
Arena with gladiators and  
Wild beasts. Martin Luther  
Was imprisoned and long  
Afterward lived with a  
Price on his Head. George  
Fox spent much time in jail  
And fifteen thousand Quakers  
Were imprisoned. John  
Wesley was subjected to

Violence from hostile  
Crowds. Roger Williams  
Was exiled into the snowy  
Wilderness of New England.  
Christian missionaries  
Have often met with  
Persecution. Many of the  
Faithful have suffered  
Under totalitarian tyranny.  
Some citizens have endured  
Loss for refusal to sign  
Loyalty oaths. Some young  
Christians have been  
Imprisoned for refusal to  
Register for the draft.  
Some ministers and teachers  
Have lost positions because  
They opposed segregation.  
Perilous remains the advice,  
"Be not conformed to this  
World," and "Come ye out  
From among them, and be  
Ye different." Still  
Ringing down the centuries  
Are the words of our Lord,  
"I give you My own peace  
And My gift is nothing like  
The peace of this world."

No. 281

## PRAY FOR THE MARVELOUS PEACE OF GOD

By Kirby Page

Peace of mind is deep water  
Running through granite  
Walls. It is the calm at  
The center of a storm.  
It is the contentment in  
Pain, the comfort in  
Sorrow. Peace of mind  
Is the joy promised the  
Disciples of our Lord  
As they followed the  
Way of the cross. It is  
The exultant cry of  
Saint Paul, "For me to  
Live in Christ, and to  
Die is gain." Thus  
John Oxenham sings:  
"The peace of God,  
it is no peace,  
But strife closed in  
the sod.  
Yet, brothers, pray for  
but one thing,  
The marvellous peace  
of God.  
I love to think of them  
at dawn  
Beneath the frail  
pink sky  
Casting their nets in  
Galilee

And fish-hawks circling by.  
Casting their nets in  
Galilee  
Just off the hills of  
brown,  
Such happy, simple  
fisherfolk.  
Before the Lord walked  
down.  
Contented, peaceful  
fishermen,  
Before they ever knew  
The peace of God that  
filled their hearts  
Brim-full, and broke them  
too.  
Young John who trimmed  
the flapping sail,  
Homeless, in Patmos died.  
Peter who hauled the  
teeming net,  
Head-down was crucified.  
The peace of God,  
it is no peace,  
But strife closed in  
the sod.  
Yet, brothers, pray for  
but one thing,  
The marvellous peace  
of God."

No. 282

## THE GRACE OF GOD

By Kirby Page

The grace of God is the most significant reality in the Universe. It is our hope of abundant life on this earth and eternal life in the ages to come. The grace of God is the initiative of our Father in pouring out his love upon all his children, even while they are sinful and wholly undeserving. Grace is a gift freely given because our Father delights in blessing his children. It is never merited and never earned. If flows like the sun shines on the good and bad alike, and the rain falls on the just and the unjust. The best way to understand the grace of God is to realize that God is as good as Jesus was good when on the cross he prayed for the forgiveness of the very men who were torturing him to death. The grace of God is like the good Shepherd who seeks his lost sheep

until he finds it. Pure grace may be seen in the forgiving love of the Father of the prodigal. No other interpretation of God's character should obscure the vividness of his grace. No emphasis upon God's judgment, no poetic imagery of a magistrate sending unrepentant sinners to eternal fire should be put in place of our Father, God of grace and God of glory. Let us live by the conviction that falling into the hands of the living God is the best of all possible fates; for "There's a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea. For the love of God is broader than the measure of man's mind; and the heart of the Eternal is most wonderfully kind." "If God loves us so much as that, surely, we, in our turn, should love each other!" Amen, amen, amen!

No. 283

These devotional readings are for use in papers published by local churches, for devotional meetings, prayer groups, youth fellowships, and for sick visitation. They are free, and will be sent upon request to Kirby Page, Box 247, La Habra, California.

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## PART I: THE CASE AGAINST WAR

BY SHERWOOD EDDY

### A PERSONAL TESTIMONY

It has taken the writer ten long years since 1914 to reach his present position upon the moral problem involved in war. As the change which has taken place in his own thinking may be typical of the experience of many who are going through the same transition today, he feels constrained to enumerate the stages through which he has passed, for the possible benefit of others who may be perplexed by the same problem. As confessions cannot be written in the third person, he asks the reader's permission to use the first. He speaks, however, personally and unofficially, not as representing the views of any organization or denomination.

I am an American of Puritan Pilgrim ancestry, a direct descendant of John Alden and Priscilla, and of Samuel Eddy, who came to America on the third Pilgrim ship, "Handmaid," in 1630. I supported Roosevelt in his early demand that we enter the great conflict, and I was against the neutrality of Woodrow Wilson and the campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war." As touching war, I was "a Pharisee of the Pharisees;" as touching zeal, I was for fighting the Germans. I had an abhorrence of "pacifism" and everything seemingly passive or pacific pertaining to it. It was against all my natural instincts, disposition and training. I was brought up in the West. My mother went to school with Buffalo Bill, and camping and hunting were the delight of my boyhood, as big game shooting in the elephant and tiger jungles of India was my favorite relaxation in later life.

During the war I wrote "The Right to Fight," defending America's entry into the world conflict with her high motives and ends, and making a ten-fold indictment of Prussian

militarism.<sup>1</sup> The book contained also a three-fold condemnation of the position maintained by pacifists because of what seemed to me their undue emphasis placed upon mere physical life, their theoretical idealism which would attain the desired end of peace without providing any adequate means for the same, and their seemingly inadequate social sense of obligation to the community, which they could not forcibly defend, yet whose armed protection they continued to enjoy.

I was ashamed of America's failure to enter the war and, though over age, I was with the British Army in 1916 as a non-combatant religious worker in their camps in the British Isles and in France. I met the First Division of the American Army when it entered France, and later threw myself into all the financial campaigns for the various agencies engaged in helping to win the war. I believed in the war and in the high motives and ends of America and the Allies. I believed it was a war to end war, to protect womanhood, to destroy militarism and autocracy and to make a new world "fit for heroes to live in"—a world of liberty, equality of opportunity, and fraternity; a world of peace based on justice. At the front we told the soldiers that if they would win we would give them a new world. It was the last war, it was to be once for all, and "never again." It was a kind of holy crusade, a half-divine crucifixion of humanity for saving the world. We reminded ourselves with satisfaction that it was on Good Friday that America declared war. There was no question about the heroism of the men, the priceless outpouring of life and treasure, the boundless sacrifice of the score and more of nations engaged in the war.

I was for a time a guest at the British General Headquarters and was conducted with three other Americans along the British front from Ypres down the long line toward Soissons. I was a guest again of the French officers in the underground fortress at Verdun, where I learned from the commanding officer that over 500,000 young men lay dead and buried on that one field, while an even larger

<sup>1</sup> "Why then was America forced to fight? We maintain that it was for the following ten reasons: the growing menace of Prussian militarism; a premeditated war of aggressive world conquest; the violation of Belgium against the most solemn treaty rights; the ruthless devastation of Poland; the deliberate extermination of the Armenians; persistent German atrocities; the sinking of the 'Lusitania' and more than 800 neutral vessels; the repeated violation of American rights and property; the crimes of the German spy system in our own country; and the ruthless policy of indiscriminate submarine warfare, forbidding to all nations the freedom of the seas." "The Right to Fight," pp. 35, 36.

number had been killed at Ypres. Here were a million men dead upon two battlefields alone. I visited the Grand Fleet and had a permit to accompany our destroyers hunting submarines. I flew with our air force on the training fields in France and saw the fighting along the British, French and American lines.

But I can remember that even during the war I began to be troubled by grave doubts and misgivings of conscience. I met the battalions that were daily going to the front. I had to answer the questions of the men in the camps as to what it was all about, whether the war was right, and whether a Christian should kill his fellowmen. I can remember pacing up and down within sound of the guns, and on the sands of the seashore at the great base camps, deeply troubled in conscience and wrestling with this most difficult moral problem. For here seemed to be a veritable conflict of duties. How could one be at once loyal to country and to Christ, how could he at once serve Caesar and God? If one obeyed the call of his country must he break the command of God? If he followed the Sermon on the Mount, or the example of Jesus, must he be unpatriotic and disloyal to the law of the land? When I wrote "With Our Soldiers in France," I had such difficulty over the chapter which I had written on "The Moral Grounds of War" that finally I had to leave it out of the book.

I was troubled by the questions and doubts of some of the soldiers themselves. One American soldier met in battle a German boy who was under age and no match for him. He easily ran him through with his bayonet. As the boy fell, he smiled up in his face. The American could not get the look of that smiling, blue-eyed boy out of his mind. He could kill no more. After that he fired into the air. The testimony of a young English officer early in the war deeply impressed me. He wrote: "It is hideously exasperating to hear people talking the glib commonplaces about the war and distributing cheap sympathy to its victims. Perhaps you are tempted to give them a picture of a leprous earth, scattered with the swollen and blackening corpses of hundreds of young men. The appalling stench of rotting carrion, mingled with the sickening smell of exploded lyddite and ammonal. Mud like porridge, trenches like shallow and sloping cracks in the porridge—porridge that stinks in the sun. Swarms of flies and bluebottles clustering on pits of offal. Wounded men lying in the shell holes among decaying

corpses, helpless under the scorching sun and bitter nights, under repeated shelling. Men with bowels dropping out, lungs shot away, with blinded, smashed faces, or limbs blown into space. Men screaming and gibbering, wounded men hanging in agony on the barbed wire until a friendly spout of liquid fire shrivels them up like a fly in a candle. But these are only words, and probably only convey a fraction of their meaning to their hearers. They shudder, and it is forgotten.<sup>1</sup> Such words, such needs and such ghastly realities, shook one's conviction, at times, as to the right or wrong of it all, as Saul of Tarsus must have been shaken in his course of zealous persecution as he stood by at the stoning of Stephen.

But as Lowell says, "every man is the prisoner of his own date," the product of his own time. He does not live to himself and seldom thinks things through to a conclusion independently. He is unconsciously and overwhelmingly influenced by the mass mind around him and molded by his environment. To break away from the entire war system, to rise above the whole habit and method of retaliation relation, of settlement by force instead of reason, was contrary to my temperament and nature.

Few have been able clearly to see with unprejudiced eyes the evils of their own time. The habitual seems the inevitable, the usual seems justifiable. Thus, for more than twenty centuries men had defended slavery, from the time of Aristotle, who found it on his hands and wrote a philosophy to justify it, down to the saintly evangelist George Whitefield, and the majority of the ministers even in the northern states of America up to the time of Garrison. As late as 1841 an American clergyman could say conscientiously that he owned thirty of his fellow human beings and would wade knee-deep in blood to prove his right to own them. He read his own prejudices into his Bible, his conscience, his reason. So today it is easier for us to see clearly regarding the moral wrong of the past issue of slavery than to judge the present issue of war. Good men had long defended the duel, the burning of witches, the killing or torture of prisoners, the Inquisition, the liquor traffic and almost every other monstrous evil. And here was I, though troubled in conscience, defending war by tradition and custom, by passion and prejudice.

Then came the end of the war, with its aftermath, and

<sup>1</sup> "The Right to Fight," p. 7.

the ghastly failure of the "peace" that followed. This war that was to end war had started a score of smoldering conflagrations. The one Alsace-Lorraine left as a bone of contention after the war of 1871, was replaced by a dozen danger zones, each and all of which threatened to disrupt the "peace" of Europe and the world.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the war I attended a conference of American and German Christian leaders in Dresden. There were present the representatives of the German Student Movement, many of them young Christian officers who had fought for several years without hatred or bitterness, together with Christian leaders from America. After an all-day conference, when we had come more fully to understand one another, we found that however mistaken any of us might be, both sides had believed they were fighting a ~~defensive~~ war, reading daily of the heroism and sacrifice of their own troops and of the alleged atrocities of the enemy. I was forced to sum up the situation at this conference as follows: "The saddest thing is not that some ten millions of our best young men are dead, that the world is impoverished, victimized on both sides by a distorted propaganda, embittered by hate, rent by division, suspicion and fear. It is that neither side seems to have learned the lesson of the war. Both are ready to begin all over again, to swallow the propaganda as eagerly as ever, to fear and hate, to misrepresent and kill as mercilessly as before. We have settled nothing, made nothing safe, achieved no lasting good commensurate with the awful sacrifices of the whole world, that could not have been better done without the war." Finally, we went out together as men who at last understood each other, and stood around the banner, "No More War," of their working men, who had marched some 60,000 strong in their recent demonstration.

During the last two years in speaking in the American colleges, while I have pleaded for the outlawry of war and the substitution of means and methods of peace, and while I have maintained the right of every individual to follow

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lloyd George mentions a few of these danger zones as follows: "There is the annexation of Vilna by force; there is the annexation of Galicia by force, by violence, by the use of arms against the will of the population. Elsewhere you have the German and the Pole quarreling over Silesia; the Russian and the Pole over doubtful boundaries; the Czech and the Magyar; the Serbian and the Bulgarian; the Russian and the Rumanian; the Rumanian and the Magyar. There is the age-long feud between Greek and Turk. All have an air of biding opportunity; all are armed ready for slaughter. Europe is a seething cauldron of international hates, with powerful men in command of the fuel stores feeding the flames and stoking the fires." "Where are We Going?" David Lloyd George, p. 38.

his own conscience, I have repeatedly said that I myself could not go the whole way in refusing to support any future war. I still seemed to feel, however, a lingering inconsistency in this half-way position that was not satisfying. My heart was won but my head was not convinced. I saw the theory and admired the ideal, but would it work in practice? I abhorred war, but was not prepared to break with it. Yet I was forced to admit that Jesus did not and would not so compromise. He at least was consistent in heart and mind, in theory and practice, in teaching and life. Thousands around me were really living out his<sup>1</sup> way of life in this matter without compromise, while here was I professing to believe in it and recommending it in all other areas of life, yet not daring concretely and practically to trust it in this realm of the world's deepest need, its greatest social sin, its most burning moral issue. A final choice seemed inevitable. Either the ultimate power in the universe was spiritual or material, love or hate, moral suasion or dynamite, spiritual salvation or material destruction. Either the final sanction and authority was man or God, Caesar or Christ. Which was it to be? I could not serve two masters.

Now, at last, after ten long years, I have reached bed-rock in my conviction, I have found stable equilibrium in my thought. I am finally done with war. I, too, can now say with that growing army of men and women of goodwill in every land, "No More War." I can now throw my life into the breach against it. Concerning war, like William Lloyd Garrison on the great moral issue of slavery, I count myself an Abolitionist. I stand for nothing passive or palely pacific, but for indomitable love, and the great offensive of militant goodwill, as ready to live or die for this cause as the men who fought in the trenches. I believe that in this great modern crusade I have found for myself what Professor James called "the moral equivalent of war."

#### THE DEFINITION OF WAR

Much of the difficulty connected with the moral issues of war is caused by confusion of thought and terminology. War, police, the use of force, the defense of one's family, the killing of a mad dog, Christ's cleansing the temple of the money-changers—are all indiscriminately confused, and the whole question settled for some by a simple illustration

<sup>1</sup> Pronouns referring to God or to Jesus Christ, as in the Authorized and Revised Versions, are not given in capitals in this pamphlet.

or a supposed analogy. Would you kill a mad dog? Would you defend your wife against a violator? Would you oppose Mexican bandits who were invading your country? Certainly, we say. Therefore, the whole method of modern war must be necessary and right; so runs the familiar argument.

Let us at the outset attempt to clear the air by definition. What is war? Countless definitions have been offered but there is no one satisfying, final and official description of war.<sup>1</sup>

In this pamphlet, combining several definitions in one, we shall define the term in the light of the experience of modern warfare, as follows: *War is a means of attempting to settle international or civil disputes, by armed military forces, through the organized destruction of life and property, in which each side seeks to impose its will upon the other by force.*

Several points are fundamental in this definition. First of all, war is a *means* and not an end. We must not confuse it with the high and holy ends that may be in view, such as the freeing of slaves, the protection of the helpless, the attempt "to end war," "to make the world safe," etc. The end may be right while the means may be futile or wrong. The end does not justify the means. The noble end of winning the world does not justify the Jesuitical means of deceit; the praiseworthy object of the saving of souls does not vindicate the tortures of the Inquisition; the holy zeal of our Pilgrim fathers did not justify their burning of witches and peaceful Quakers. Our Civil War freed the slaves, but other countries liberated their captives without shedding blood. Great Britain, long before our American Civil War, liberated all her slaves with full compensation to the owners; without leaving her country embittered,

<sup>1</sup> According to Cicero, "War is a contest or contention carried on by force." Grotius, the father of international law, said: "War is the state of contending parties, considered as such." \*\* Justice is not included in the definition of war, because the very point to be decided is, whether any war be just, and what war may be so called. Therefore we must make a distinction between war itself and the justice of it." The New Standard Dictionary defines war as "a contest \*\* carried on by force and with arms \*\* to obtain and establish the superiority and domination of one of the belligerents over the other." The C. O. P. E. C. conference of Great Britain thus defines it: "War is force carried to the slaughter of innocent people wholesale, organized by states without any court of justice or appeal to a higher power, and aiming on each side at the subjugation of the opposing nation to the will of the conquerer." "Christianity and War," p. 60, Report of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, April 5-12, 1924. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "War is the armed conflict of states, in which each seeks to impose its will upon the other by force."

divided, impoverished and with a lasting prejudice against the Negro.

We are not here questioning the high ends that may be in view in war, nor the noble motives that may inspire the soldiers, such as loyalty, bravery and sacrifice. These motives may be and actually have been found in connection with slavery and the duel. But noble motives do not justify these evils. Many slave-owners were kind and generous; many who fought fatal duels, like Alexander Hamilton, were the soul of honor. But noble motives and high ends do not justify modern war any more than they do these other evils. War is a means or method of attempting to accomplish certain ends and as such it must be judged.

War is waged by *armed military forces*. Again, our definition must clearly distinguish between an army and police. A police force differs from an army in at least three ways. The police is a *neutral third party* for bringing the criminal to judicial trial for an impartial decision, based not upon force but upon law. But the military army is judge, jury and executioner all combined under the sway of passion. The decision of battle is based upon might, not right. Instead of the impartial scales of justice, which may be balanced in the calm of the court room we have the fury of passion in blind destruction. Might has no necessary connection with right and a decision in war is seldom a lasting settlement.

In the second place, *the police deals specifically with the criminal individual*, or individuals, while war is seldom able to reach, or even try, a Kaiser, a Ludendorff, a Tirpitz or men on either side who may be guilty of the foulest crimes. Perforce it destroys indiscriminately innocent and guilty alike. It leaves literally millions of dead men, women and children, who had no part in the plotting, the scheming, the lying, the profiteering, the propaganda or the cruelty of the conflict. It turns the world into a slaughter house for multitudes who had no vote or adequate knowledge of the real causes and issues of the war.

In the third place, the police is ideally, and in large measure actually, *redemptive*, while war is inherently and inevitably *destructive*. The police exists to protect life and property. It does not and cannot conquer other cities or countries while the army is fully equipped for the maximum destruction of life and property.

The police force, moreover, is a voluntary body, com-

manding the moral support of practically the whole community. The modern army in time of war is drafted by compulsion and often involves the coercion of the conscience of the individual. It is vast and unwieldy in size and cannot be kept within moral bounds. Speaking for himself, the writer believes in an adequate police force to deal with criminal or lawless individuals or groups, the city mob, bandits within the nation's border or invading from without. All this comes within the province of the police without involving organized warfare between civilized nations. He believes in all necessary use of force under judicial sanction. He does not believe in the lawless and destructive use of force to settle differences between individuals, states or nations. Courts are already in existence to settle all such differences.

Having clearly in mind the distinction between police and an army, and recalling our definition of modern war, we are now prepared to examine it as a means of attempting to settle international disputes. More than ten years after 1914, having gone through the war in close connection with several armies in the field, and having observed its effects in the devastated continent of Europe, the writer has slowly come to the conclusion that modern war is always wrong, and that it is wrong for three reasons. It is wrong in its methods, it is wrong in its results, it is unchristian.

#### I. WAR IS WRONG IN ITS METHODS

Space will permit the mention of only three typical methods of war—ruthless military necessity, reprisals and a distorted propaganda.

1. War employs the *methods of ruthless military necessity, under an irresponsible national sovereignty, where might makes right*. Under this chauvinistic nationalism, one side takes as its motto, "Deutschland über alles." The other side sees clearly every mote in the eye of the enemy while it cries with Stephen Decatur and the "world's greatest newspaper," "Right or wrong, my country." Irresponsible nationalism on both sides is placed above the moral order of the universe. One side justifies the violation of Belgium as a "military necessity." The other, by the same token, defends the far more deadly Allied hunger blockade, which was destroying 100,000 women, children and old men a year, when it had reached its full efficiency.

Under "military necessity" Germany violates her own

treaty with Belgium, torn up as a mere "scrap of paper." We seize on this phrase to advertise her guilt, holding up our hands in holy horror. And then we tear up our scrap of paper, the fourteen points proposed by the democratically elected President of the United States, and officially offered by the Allies as a basis for Germany's laying down her arms in the armistice and for the peace treaty.<sup>1</sup>

Military necessity imposes the weapons of modern warfare. These include poison gas, burning oil, submarines, aeroplane bombs, hunger blockades and possibly in the future death rays and disease germs.<sup>2</sup>

Under military necessity, since the armistice the range of guns has been doubled, the speed of tractors trebled and the destructiveness of aeroplane bombs increased tenfold. Machine guns are now available which fire 1,500 shots per minute. An automatic cannon has been perfected which fires one-and-a-quarter-pound shells at the rate of 120 per minute. We now have a 16-inch gun which hurls a missile weighing more than a ton a distance of 27 miles. A speed of 200 miles an hour for airplanes is now common, with a possibility of 250 miles an hour. In endurance tests, machines have remained in the air for 36 hours continuously, and non-stop flights of more than 2,000 miles have been made. Airships are now available with a cruising range of 4,000 miles and a gross lifting power of 120,000 pounds. The significance of aviation in any war of the future was borne in upon the writer last summer when he flew from Berlin to London in seven hours and crossed the English Channel in exactly thirteen minutes.

The size of demolition bombs is steadily growing. During the recent war, 400-pound bombs were considered highly effective, while now 4000-pound bombs are available. One of these bombs would be sufficient to destroy completely the Woolworth Building. In the realm of poison gas, great progress is also being made. In this connection, D. B. Brad-

<sup>1</sup> "At the Armistice in November, 1918, America received the solemn promise of France, Great Britain and Italy, as well as of Germany, that peace should be made upon the basis of the Fourteen Points. They accepted, not merely casually, but formally, the principle (the President made it the first of five principles in his address of September, 1918) that 'the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just.' 'The Versailles Treaty and After,' Ray Stannard Baker, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> "The final form of human strife, as I regard it, is germ warfare. I think it will come to that; and so far as I can see, there is no reason why it should not, if you mean to fight. Study the waging of war on a wholesale scale instead of thinking so much about methods which will kill individuals one at a time." Major General E. D. Swinton, of the British Army, quoted by Will Irwin in "The Next War," pp. 48, 49.

ner, Chief of the Chemical Research and Development Section of the United States Chemical Warfare Service, said: "The Chemical Warfare Service has discovered a liquid approximately three drops of which, when applied to any part of the skin, will cause a man's death. One plane carrying two tons of the liquid could cover an area 100 feet wide by seven miles long in one trip and could deposit material to kill every man in that area by action on his skin." Deadly disease germs are also available. A few well-placed bombs filled with these germs could poison the water supply of whole areas. With comparative ease, whole sections of a population could be infected with virulent diseases. On this point, General E. D. Swinton, of the British Army, says: "The great future weapon of war will be deadly germs. We have since the war discovered and developed germs which, dropped down upon cities and armies, will slaughter a nation in a day." Progress is also being made in projecting electric rays through space with deadly effect. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that submarines and torpedoes will be vastly more destructive of life and commerce in any future war. In short, war can never be humanized or moralized; it can only be abolished.

The individual soldier fights under a military necessity which takes no account of his qualms of conscience. Whatever the command may be, moral or immoral, right or wrong, to sink a Lusitania, bomb a defenseless city, or release a flood of poison gas, he has no longer any moral control over his action. But centuries ago Tertullian said, before a worldly church had sanctioned war, "The life of faith knows no plea of necessity, for how can there be a necessity to sin, in a life the one necessity of which is that it does not sin?" And long before him, he whom he counted the Lord of Life had left no place for military necessity nor any two masters in a divided moral allegiance.

2. War employs the *method of reprisals and counter-reprisals, atrocities and counter-atrocities*. In its very nature, war is retaliation under the sway of passion. This induces counter-retaliation. Neither side thinks the score is even or is ready to stop, short of exhaustion caused by devastating destruction. A temporary surrender is usually only a respite to gain revenge. War is not a settlement but an un settlement; it is a boundless provocation; it is a cumulative counter-offensive where evil outdoes evil, force over-

whelms force, hatred kindles a deeper hate. Bernard Shaw writes, "And so to the end of history, murder shall breed murder, always in the name of right and honor and peace." Richard Cobden says, "From the moment the first shot is fired, or the first blow is struck in a dispute, then farewell to all reason and argument; you might as well reason with mad dogs as with men when they have begun to spill each other's blood in mortal combat."

The writer remembers a point on the Allied front that had become very "hot." The story had gone down the line that one of the Allied soldiers had been crucified and nailed to a barn door. The individuals questioned had not themselves seen the man, but the story, whether true or false, was believed, and the word was passed along, "No more prisoners." I met a young Sunday School teacher from the finest Christian family in his country and asked, "Are you taking any prisoners on this front now?" I shall not forget his mirthless laugh and his hard, cynical reply, "Yes, we take a *few*. We need a few to give us information. But mighty few." Just what does he mean? Here is the father of a family who had been drafted and compelled to fight. He believed the propaganda of his press that he was fighting a defensive war. He is unarmed and trying to surrender, thinking of his wife and children. And your Sunday School teacher drives his bayonet to the heart and leaves that wife a widow and those children orphans.

One young soldier told the writer how hard he found it to do that kind of thing, under orders, as a *Christian*. Would Jesus do it? Would he ask his followers to do it? If not, are such inevitable reprisals of war right or wrong?

Dr. Fosdick says, "One of our young men came back from France, and, like many others, would not talk. One day his father took him apart and rebuked him for his silence. 'Just one thing I will tell you,' he answered. 'One night I was on patrol in No Man's Land and suddenly I came face to face with a German boy about my own age. It was a question of his life or mine. We fought like wild beasts. When I came back that night, I was covered from head to foot with the blood and brains of that young German boy. We had nothing personally against each other. He did not want to kill me any more than I wanted to kill him. That is war. I did my duty in it, but for God's sake do not ask me to talk about it. I want to forget it.'

One nation invented poison gas. Germany sees its menace,

perfects it and launches it at Ypres. We and all the world condemn this "atrocious." But what did we do? We used yet more deadly gas: chlorine, then mustard, then we invented Lewisite, and now there is something even more destructive. Mr. Winston Churchill, formerly First Lord of the British Admiralty, claimed that we used every means save torture and cannibalism in the last war.<sup>1</sup>

3. *War victimizes both sides by a distorted propaganda.* We cannot successfully run a modern war if we tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We must always carefully suppress two sets of facts: all generous statements about the foe and all unfavorable reports about ourselves and "our glorious Allies." We cannot induce men to go out and slay millions of their brother men and fellow-Christians unless we deceive them by propaganda. Frederick the Great said, "If my soldiers would really think, not one of them would remain in the ranks."

Our American war correspondent, Will Irwin, in "Christ or Mars," tells us how, when Belgium was divided by the invasion, some hysterical German women who had seen things, or thought they had seen things, came in with wild tales regarding their countrywomen who had been violated and had their breasts cut off. This was good grist for the mill of German publicity, and for four years the propaganda of Allied atrocities filled their carefully censored press. Mr. Irwin also tells of a hysterical American woman who came in with a report of a group of twenty Belgian boys who had had their hands cut off. No such child or hand was produced, but this was good propaganda, and for four years this kind of atrocity filled our own pages. Mr. Irwin says, "I laugh now when I remember that I swallowed this yarn whole." He adds that for four years he searched to find a single mutilated Belgian child and says, of course, he never found one. Ex-Premier Nitti says the story was untrue.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Great War through which we have passed differed from all ancient wars in the immense power of the combatants and their fearful agencies of destruction, and from all modern wars in the utter ruthlessness with which it was fought. All the horrors of the ages were brought together, and not only armies but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them. Every outrage against humanity or international law was repaid by reprisals often on a greater scale and of longer duration. When all was over, Torture and Cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian states had been able to deny themselves; and these were of doubtful utility." "The World Crisis," Winston Churchill, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> "All the world believed for a time that the habitual exercise of the Germans in Belgium was to cut off the hands of babies. There was no truth in the story, and there are no more handless babies in Belgium than there are in England or in Germany. The news was false, but the most reputable papers published it; telegraphic agencies spread it broadcast, and thus nourished the mistrust of the world. . . Lloyd George . . . sent me word that he had not

Sir Philip Gibbs was man enough to come out with his recantation in "Now It Can Be Told," and in numerous articles, with an apology for his part in the campaign of deceit and suppression.<sup>1</sup> Mr. George Creel and the Committee on Public Information, who flooded America with seventy-five million books and pamphlets, say, "There was no medium of appeal that we did not employ." One of their favorite themes was the German submarine atrocities. Admiral Sims, however, now says that "most of the accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them were untrue." He writes, "I do not blame the newspapers. As far as I know, the newspapers printed the truth as they knew it. Their sources of information were men who had made the passage, letters from the other side, and *naval officers on this side*. One of the sacrifices a people necessarily must make during war time is of an accurate knowledge of events. You have got to keep many facts from your own people to keep them from the enemy. It would be extremely unpatriotic for a newspaper to tell the absolute truth about what is taking place during a war, even if the newspaper could get the absolute truth."<sup>2</sup>

If we can make ourselves think that the enemy are "boche," "swine," "Huns," "devils" and "baby killers," we can believe that we are rendering God service by ridding the world of

been able to trace a single case of a child's hand having been cut off, in all Belgium. In spite of this, the stupid and wicked lie continues to be spread about." "The Decadence of Europe," Nitti, p. 138, xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> "Greedy was the appetite of the mob for atrocity tales. The more revolting they were the quicker they were swallowed. The foul absurdity of the 'corpse-factory' was not rejected any more than the tale of the 'crucified Canadian' (disproved by our own G. H. Q.) or the cutting off of children's hands and women's breasts, for which I could find no evidence from the only British ambulances working in the districts where such horrors were reported. <sup>2</sup> Hatred at home, inspired largely by feminine hysteria and official propaganda, reached such heights that when fighting-men came back on leave, their refusal to say much against their enemy, their straightforward assertions that 'Fritz' was not so black as he was painted, that he fought bravely, died gamely, and in the prison-camps was well-mannered, decent, industrious, good-natured, were heard with shocked silence by mothers and sisters who could only excuse this absence of hate on the score of war-weariness." "Now It Can Be Told," Philip Gibbs, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> "Within the past few months, in speaking to various audiences of the operations of the German submarines, I have stated that *"most of the accounts of atrocities popularly attributed to them were untrue;* that barring the case of the hospital ship, Llandovery Castle, I did not know of any case where a German submarine commander deliberately fired upon the boats of a torpedoed vessel; that the commanding officer and two other officers of the submarine that torpedoed that vessel were tried in Germany after the war and punished; that the submarine commanders generally acted in a humane manner in carrying out the orders of their Government, in some instances giving the boats of torpedoed merchant vessels food and water and a tow toward land, and sending out wireless signals giving their position. <sup>3</sup> If the war is of considerable duration and intensity, the relatively few cases of atrocities are multiplied by the inevitable popular hatred until a general belief is created that all members of the enemy's forces are just plain beasts." "The Current History Magazine," June, 1923, pp. 357, 362. Italic, ours.

such demons. But what were the facts? There were a few babies on the Lusitania and on several other ships that were destroyed, and some were killed in the air raids. But at the very hour we were rousing ourselves to a fury of righteous indignation to make the world safe against these baby-killers *our Allied hunger blockade was killing many, many times more babies than the enemy ever had a chance to kill.*

Our contention is that war is wrong in its methods of ruthless military necessity, reprisals and counter-reprisals, and distorted propaganda.

## II. WAR IS WRONG IN ITS RESULTS

War is wrong in its results because it is intrinsically, inevitably and utterly destructive. It is destructive of material wealth, of human life and of moral standards. In the end it is futile and suicidal. It is not denied that some good results from war. It would be impossible to have such an outpouring of life and treasure, and such an expenditure of energy, often with lofty motives and for high ends, without having some beneficial consequences. It is maintained, however, that modern war has become so frightfully destructive that the evil far outweighs the good and that it is now no longer, if it ever was, the lesser of two evils.

*1. It destroys material wealth and prosperity.* According to Professor Ernest L. Bogart, in his "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War," published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, we must add to the direct cost of the war of 186 billion dollars the indirect costs, making a total of 337 billions. No human mind can comprehend these figures, but they become more terribly intelligible when we remind ourselves that if we had paid \$20,000 an hour from the birth of Christ until the end of 1925, the war would not yet have been paid for. We burned up \$9,000,000 an hour, or \$215,000,000 a day, in the World War and destroyed the equivalent of the endowment of a great University like Columbia every five hours. After patient, plodding centuries of slow construction, we have at last mastered the art of swift and devastating destruction. And this is not the accident, but is the very essence of war. America suffered less than almost any other nation and has spent relatively less on armament than the great powers of Europe. Nevertheless, President Harding, who could not be accused of being unpatriotic, said in his Salt

Lake City speech of June 26, 1923: "When you stop to think that, when divided up, 85 per cent of American taxes, 85 per cent of the enormous public fund of which I have been speaking, goes to the expense and obligations of war, and only 15 per cent to the promotion of the ideals and practices of peace, do you not think we ought to play our part, my countrymen, in helping the world to abolish war?"

Colonel Fuller shows that in a single air raid London could be turned into a raving bedlam, high explosives blowing up whole sections of the city, starting a score of fires which could not be put out, as the firemen would be strangled in the poison gas that would follow the high explosive.<sup>1</sup> Thomas A. Edison was recently asked, "Is it true that practically the entire population of London could be killed by gas within twelve hours?" "It is not true," he replied. The thing could be done *within three hours.*" Rear Admiral William S. Sims, U. S. N., at the annual dinner of the Albany Medical College Alumni Association, said on June 13, 1922: "If we have another war and if we are attacked, we'll use gas, \* \* and we won't care how, when or why."

America has now sufficiently perfected an aerial torpedo weighing one or two tons which is self-propelled for a hundred miles, guided by an invisible airman twenty thousand feet up in the blue and, when over the objective, released, to fall with deadly accuracy and destroy a whole section of a teeming city or army.

2. *War is destructive of human life*, the most priceless thing on earth.

Professor Bogart estimates 26,000,000 combatants and non-combatants as the total death toll of the war. This would mean a city of 16,585, like Ithaca, blotted out every day of the war. To this must be added:

20,000,000 wounded  
9,000,000 war orphans  
5,000,000 war widows  
10,000,000 refugees

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Fuller says, "I believe that, in future warfare, great cities, such as London, will be attacked from the air, and that a fleet of 500 airplanes, each carrying 500 ten-pound bombs of, let us suppose, mustard gas, might cause 200,000 minor casualties and throw the whole city into a panic within half an hour of their arrival. Picture, if you can, what the result will be: London for several days will be one vast raving bedlam, the hospitals will be stormed, traffic will cease, the homeless will shriek for help, the city will be in pandemonium." "The Reformation of War," p. 150.

These appalling figures, however, do not include the indirect losses from revolution, famine and pestilence, the increased death rate and the total losses due to the war. According to the Swedish Society for the Study of Social Consequences of the War, the total loss must be put down at 40,000,000 lives.<sup>1</sup> We read with horror of a single human sacrifice offered to Dagon or Moloch, to Baal or Ashtaroth; but what shall we say of this modern offering to the pagan god of war?

It seems almost sacrilegious to put down the boundless destruction of war in a cold mathematical table. Only an infinite mind can comprehend what this means in terms of human suffering. Take the single item of 10,000,000 "refugees." That means ten million human beings driven homeless, and often penniless, out of Armenia, Turkey, Syria, Belgium, France, Russia, East Prussia and the battle areas where armies marched and counter-marched. The writer was in one place in Russia which was taken and retaken fifteen times, with all the violence and crime that this implies. He can never forget seeing at a hospital in the Near East a line of little girls, eight, nine and ten years old, who had been violated and left with venereal disease. Well might our American general say that "war is hell." In the light of the facts can any one deny that war is intrinsically and inevitably destructive of human life, the most priceless thing upon this planet?

Moreover, war in the modern world cannot be isolated. The world is now materially unified in a neighborhood; it must either morally be unified in a brotherhood of closer co-operation or destroy itself. The last war that began with a single shot at Sarajevo finally involved practically all of Europe and North America, a third of Africa, actively or passively two-thirds of Asia, and the whole of Australasia. As has been pointed out, it destroyed forty million lives and the best male stock of Europe. War has perhaps made almost as rapid strides in the last ten years as in the ten thousand years before the great war, for it is well within the truth to say that it has more than doubled in its destructiveness during the decade.

Not only is war terrifically destructive of individual life,

<sup>1</sup> The total losses of a few of the countries are as follows:  

European Russia	13,000,000	Great Britain	1,850,000
Germany	6,300,000	Serbia	1,650,000
Austria-Hungary	5,800,000	Roumania	510,000
France	3,340,000	Belgium	375,000
Italy	2,280,000	Bulgaria	275,000

but it is on such a scale that it threatens our very civilization as well. After coming out of the Ruhr, during the darkest days of the military occupation of that area, the writer saw Lord Grey. He said, "It looks very dark. Another great war may mean the break-up of civilization in Europe. We may see all over this continent what we have already seen in Russia." A Russian friend, our host in Moscow, had described what that would mean. He said, "We were stalled in the famine area, with snowdrifts above the top of the train and our engine blown up. I could look out of the car windows on the right and count twenty-eight dead bodies starved and frozen stiff in that open car. From the train on the parallel track on the other side, day by day I could see the living push out the dead with their feet, as they starved one by one. While over in that barn, with no time to dig in the frozen ground and bury the dead, when three millions were perishing in the famine, they piled the frozen corpses like cordwood." Then he added a thing which one would not have believed save on the testimony of more than one reliable witness. He said, "Those corpses were stolen and eaten! In a few cases frenzied parents ate their own children. Young girls were hanging about the back of restaurants or hotels looking for scraps of food like hungry dogs. Civilization almost went over the brink into barbarism and savagery." And when Lord Grey said that another great war would mean that we would see that kind of thing all over Europe, one began to realize what the aftermath of a world war could be. For more than ten millions are dead in Russia since 1914 of war, revolution, famine, hunger, disease and pestilence.

3. *War is destructive of moral standards.* It has been well said that the first casualty of war is truth; the next is love, then follows liberty, then justice. If war itself is wrong, is unchristian and immoral, it is not strange that a whole brood of resultant evils should follow in its train. Ex-Premier Nitti says, "The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization."

The means of conducting war, according to the war books, are "violence and cunning." It is the making of immorality lawful that is so disastrously demoralizing. Professor Forsyth urges us to "fall back on an inferior ethic and make the best of it." Another Christian leader

says, "I admit that war is unchristian, but when war comes, I put my Christianity in my pocket and go out and fight." But is Christianity, or the moral order, a convenience to be pocketed? And what is this boundless evil that prostitutes and violates the highest and holiest things in life? What effect has this not only upon standards of conduct for the nation, but of the Church itself? War is bound to destroy the moral standards if it is founded on "the one act which is the supreme violation of morals—killing," and if it brings all other immoralities in its train. Will Irwin says of the men who went through it all, "Bayonet practice was a most effective piece of 'psychological preparation.' The sergeants in charge of this game enacted a kind of hymn of hate, a familiar combination of American oaths shouted to the swing of a rifle. It went like this: 'God' (presents point) 'damn' (swing back) 'you' (thrust). \*\*How many died with the sergeant's hymn of hate on their lips?"

An American Major in France, now a minister of the Gospel and a personal friend of the writer, tells of the brutalizing effect of war upon men who fight. A number of German soldiers had taken shelter in a dugout and the American soldiers were driving them out with bombs. As they came out, unarmed, with hands up and trying to surrender, they were shot down without mercy, like so many rats in a hole. Similar instances could be multiplied, and they were not all committed by the enemy. Such things are not only brutally wrong, but demoralizing in their after-effects. The crimes of violence that followed the war in all countries where the men fought for four years are well known. Lawlessness, banditry, the habit of appeal to violence, the loss of reverence for human life and for moral standards, are the inevitable results in the case of many. A man cannot put off his character, his conscience, and the habits of a lifetime and take a night out, or a day off in debauchery and come back the same man afterward. We reap what we sow, in war as in peace. War leaves its lasting moral scars. The categorical imperative grounded in the moral order of the universe cannot be violated by a carnival of "violence and cunning," of organized mass murder, of reprisals and atrocities and leave individuals or society the same. Participation is bad enough, but the sanctioning and blessing of what is intrinsically immoral is doubly damning.

War demands a moratorium of customary moral standards. Truth must be exchanged for a propaganda of exaggeration

or falsehood. A chauvinistic patriotism demands that love must be exorcised by hate. Liberty must be superseded by an autocratic military control of moral conduct, including the compulsory killing of men, the bombing of defenseless cities, destruction by poison gas, and sometimes the killing of defenseless prisoners. Justice gives place to injustice in dealing with an enemy and righteousness all too frequently to immorality. With what result? We are left not only with forty millions dead and many millions wounded, but with a world that is morally crippled and disabled. We may wash our hands like Pilate, we may protest our innocence, but we cannot thus lightly cleanse the stains of this bloody business, the world's "damned spot" of war.

In the thought of Lincoln, forty angels saying so cannot make a thing right if it is wrong. Eighteen centuries of moral blindness and the approval of majorities can no more justify war than slavery. Slavery, though condoned and justified and blessed, ate like a moral cancer into our national life. It degraded the black race and demoralized the white. The story of the sexual immorality of some of our greatest national heroes under slavery can never be written. Neither can the story of the sexual immorality of our armies overseas ever be told. We may deny it or condone it but it was there, none the less. The writer himself held evangelistic meetings during the war not only in the camps but in a number of the venereal hospitals. In one place in an army not our own, the commanding officer informed him that over eighty thousand men, up to that date, had been down with venereal disease in that one hospital. It may be said that the hospital referred to was not in our army and that our record of health was the best in the world, and so it was, for we benefitted by the experience of others. Our prophylaxis was a fairly effective physical protection. But there was no moral prophylaxis to protect the soul.

Referring to the continental armies under the long strain of fifty-two months of war, Mr. Irwin says, "The authorities began to give frequent leave and to encourage these boys, either openly or tacitly, to 'find a woman' and get thoroughly, satisfactorily drunk. \*\* Scarcely a hotel in London, Paris, Rome and I suppose Berlin, but knowingly opened its doors to shady characters."

"Now it can be told," and repugnant though it is, the story of the inevitable immorality connected with war must be told. But it cannot be told in war time. It may mean

prison or court-martial then. If so, let us face it now and decide whether it is right or wrong, inevitable or preventable. In place of oratorial sentiment, let us give the content of reality to the word "war," so that we shall know just what we mean when we argue for it and when we vote for it. It means for many definite and inevitable immorality.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not we count it the lesser of two evils, when we vote for war we vote for the mass destruction of material wealth, of human life and the abrogation of moral standards that mean for millions immoral acts and their immoral consequences.

I fully recognize that neither the position that war is the greater of two evils, nor its opposite, is capable of absolute logical demonstration. But nothing in my judgment could work worse than war. For it carries with it all other evils in its train—hatred, vengeance, murder, atrocity, falsehood, deceit, sexual passion; the defense of evil, the searing of conscience, the loss of moral standards; disease, famine, poverty, despair; violence, revolution, lawlessness, crime and death. What evil is wanting that war does not multiply and intensify? What good does it accomplish that could not be better won by peace?

4. *Modern war is futile and suicidal.* After all our war aims, our proclamations, our protestations of high motives and ends, what in reality has the last war settled? It was a "war to end war." Did it in fact end war, or start a score of lesser conflicts and sow the dragon's teeth of as many future wars in a "peace of violence."

Napoleon said, "I doubt if war ever really settled anything. It unsettles everything. . . . The more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."

The war was fought "to protect womanhood." Was it a ghastly jest that after millions of women slain by war,

<sup>1</sup> "To destroy the garnered wealth of the world, to condemn to toiling poverty an entire generation of mankind after all is fought out, to ruin every lovely and cherished possession, to put death and destruction everywhere for life and growth, to baffle the march of beneficent evolution, to spoil all the lovely work of the great Handicraftsman, the offspring of the Father of Life, to slay the strongest and degrade the race—this is the purpose and the method of war. This evil end can only be achieved through a moral suicide no less disastrous. In war, hatred becomes a duty, love ridiculous; to win the war by the denial of every spiritual faculty of man is thought to be the only possible course. Falsehood has its place in the military handbooks as a necessary weapon; fraud and force combine. The fellowship of mankind, the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, is earnestly denied in word and deed. People are always persuaded for military purposes that the foes of the moment are incarnate devils."

"Conscription and Conscience," James W. Graham, p. 31.

famine and pestilence, and an unnumbered multitude violated, there were left five million war widows, ten million refugees, and nearly twenty million women who could have no home of their own because that number of men are dead.<sup>1</sup>

It was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." But has it made it safe for anything? The "World Alliance," uniting twenty-six nations, declares that "Large armies and navies are a sure provocation of war." General F. B. Maurice shows the futility of preparedness: "I went into the British Army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare for war you will get war."<sup>2</sup> If the world sows preparedness it reaps combat; if it sows combat it reaps further preparedness.

War is not only futile but suicidal. It has become destructive on such a vast and rapidly growing scale that it now threatens our very civilization. Lloyd George says, "If the churches of Christ throughout Europe and America allow that (another war) to fructify, they had better close their doors. The next war, if it comes, will be against civilization itself. What I saw of the war, day by day, makes me vow that I will consecrate what is left of my energies to make it impossible that humanity shall in the future have to pass through the fire, the terrors, the cruelty, the horror and the squalor of war." And Lord Bryce's words are almost too familiar to quote: "If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us." Lord Haig, the British Commander, came back from the war to ask the churches of Britain for a crusade against this menace, saying, "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible."

It is General Pershing who said, "It would appear that the lessons of the last six years should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. . . . We may well ask ourselves whether civilization does not really reach a point where it begins to destroy itself and whether we are thus

<sup>1</sup> "A modern war to protect the weak—that is a grim joke! Look at the facts of the last war. This is the way it protected the weak: 10,000,000 known dead soldiers; 3,000,000 presumed dead soldiers; 13,000,000 dead civilians; 20,000,000 wounded; 3,000,000 prisoners; 9,000,000 war orphans; 5,000,000 war widows; 10,000,000 refugees. What do you mean—modern war protecting the weak? The Turks have slaughtered Armenians with an abandon and freedom not known before, since we fought a war to protect the weak. This is the conviction that grows in modern minds: war is no way to protect the weak." "A Christian Crusade Against War," Harry Emerson Fosdick.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Disraeli wrote, "Wherever there is a vast standing army, the government is the government of the sword. \*\*They must obey one man and that man is master."

doomed to go headlong down through destructive war and darkness to barbarism." General Tasker H. Bliss shows in "What Really Happened at Paris" the costs of the Great War.<sup>1</sup> And then he writes this solemn letter to the churches of America: "The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed."

It is our contention that war is wrong in its results as inevitably destructive of wealth, of human life, of moral standards; and that it is futile and suicidal.

### III. WAR IS UNCHRISTIAN

It is the utmost negation of Jesus' way of life. Well may Fosdick say, "War is the most colossal and ruinous social sin that afflicts mankind today; it is utterly and irremediably unchristian." With this judgment, the pronouncements of the leading denominations are in agreement, and the Federal Council of Churches says it is "the world's chief collective sin. We are convinced that the whole war system of the nations is unnecessary and unchristian." The Christian conscience is asserting itself in the condemnation of war by the rising idealism of youth in our day, as in the Methodist Student Convention at Louisville, April 18-20, 1924, which declared, "War is the greatest of all crimes, because it includes all crimes."

Whatever else it is or is not, it can hardly be successfully denied that war is unchristian. From his third temptation in the wilderness to the cross of Calvary, Jesus' life and teaching are the absolute antithesis of the spirit and example of the Zealots and militarists about him.<sup>2</sup> He steadfastly refused to advance his ideals by coercive means.

It is in his cross that the whole life and teaching of Jesus are focused and the nature of God is revealed. Here man's sin is shown and God's way of dealing with it. "Love your enemies \*\* that ye may be sons of your Father

"Total deaths in battle .....	9,998,771
Number wounded .....	20,297,551
Prisoners and missing .....	5,983,600
Total cost .....	\$337,946,179,657
"What Really Happened at Paris," General Tasker H. Bliss, p. 385.	

<sup>1</sup> In 45 B.C., Ezechias of Galilee led a political revolt. When Jesus was twelve years old, Judas of Galilee led a revolutionary movement against the Romans. (Acts 5:37) At the time of Jesus' death, Barabbas was in prison for insurrection and was released in place of Jesus. In 66 A.D. the Jewish-Roman war began and at its culmination in 70 A.D. Jerusalem was destroyed, and the population slain, crucified or sold into slavery. "Toward the Understanding of Jesus," V. G. Simkhovitch.

in heaven." Evil is to be overcome, not by retaliation and retribution but by vicarious self-sacrifice. Man is not to retaliate, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," hate for hate, war for war. He is to overcome evil with good. His act is to be determined, not by his enemy's evil but by his own good, not by the hate of his foe, but by the love of his Father, in heaven, "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and the unjust."

In the cross God himself turns the other cheek to humanity. Jesus launches his "great offensive" of love. Man sees the power of moral suasion pitted against physical force, love against hate, good against evil. And here he sees not only what ultimate moral evil is, but how to overcome it. In the cross, history reaches its climax. Humanity stands here at the crossroads. There are but two ways, two masters. And each man must take his choice between them. Each age faces one supreme moral issue. For our time that issue is war. It is Caesar or Christ, man's way or God's, the appeal to force as ultimate power or to organized good-will, war or peace.

While we agree with Kropotkin in the mutual aid principle that runs through lower forms of life, and while we do not believe at all that human nature is inherently evil, yet the primitive man, whether living in 5000 B.C. or 1925 A.D., sees all life as a battle ground. The brute, the savage within him, is clamant for the struggle for life and for warfare between individuals, classes, races, nations; for strife in the sphere of industry, race and religion. Life to him is a fight based on the primal urge of his animal nature. Jesus dares to oppose this primal instinct and the whole social order based upon the acquisitive and predatory tendencies in man. *He sees life not as a savage battlefield, but as a human family.* He views it not as a class struggle, a racial strife, an imperial conquest, an armed preparation for devastating war. He sees a divine purpose, "a labor working to an end," a heavenly Father's love and a Kingdom of indomitable goodwill. Into this world of strife he launches his daring innovation of a life of love.

In Prague you see the old castle from which the men were thrown out in an act of violence that launched the Thirty Years' War, that devastated wide areas of Europe and, whose effects, could we but trace them, still continue in that war-torn continent. In Jerusalem, without that city

wall, you see the spot where One launched a new way of life and turned the other cheek to humanity.

Jesus' teaching and example were understood as opposed to war by his followers and the early Church. Professor Harnack says that up to 150 A.D., "the possibility of the Christian as a soldier did not exist." "The early Christian church was the first peace society." The Christians refused to take part in the defense of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. when it was destroyed and even as they had been warned to "flee to the mountains," withdrew to Perea beyond Jordan. According to Justin Martyr (114-165 A.D.) the spirit of war and the spirit of Jesus are absolutely irreconcilable. Tertullian (145-220 A.D.) holds that a Christian should leave the army at once. Origen (230 A.D.) defied imperial conscription and his contemporary, Cyprian (200-258 A.D.), maintained that war is wholesale murder. "Homicide is a crime when individuals commit it, it is called a virtue when it is called on publicly."<sup>1</sup> Arnobius and Lactantius (300 A.D.) both denounce war. In many instances Christians threw down their arms, saying, "I am a Christian and therefore I cannot fight." "With one or two possible exceptions no soldier joined the Church and remained a soldier until the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-181 A.D.). Even then refusal to serve we know to be the normal policy of Christians as the reproaches of Celsus testify."<sup>2</sup>

Celsus asks the Christians what would happen to the empire if all citizens like them refused to take up arms. The Council at Nicaea (325 A.D.) refers to "those who being called by grace, have first shown their zeal and faith by abandoning the military profession, but afterwards have returned to it like dogs to their vomit. Let them be 'hearers' for three years and 'penitent' for ten years."

But when Constantine, the head of the army, became the virtual head of the Church, when the state took charge of religious affairs, the process of the nationalization and militarization of the Church began, and the influence of this semi-pagan movement has continued until this day. The cross now became under Constantine an imperial military emblem, bringing victory as a talisman of war. The official Church became at times the rubber stamp of

<sup>1</sup> "The Early Christian Attitude Toward War," C. J. Cadoux, pp. 52, 245. He says, "In the third century the conviction that Christianity was incompatible with the shedding of blood was widely held and acted on in churches up and down Christendom."

<sup>2</sup> "The Early Christian Attitude Toward War," C. J. Cadoux, pp. 52, 245.

the state. Athanasius is now ready to say, "To destroy opponents in war is lawful and worthy of praise." By 416 A.D. nonchristians were forbidden to serve in the army; "so the meek and peaceful Jesus became a God of battle," and the cross an emblem of war. And even in our day the greatest armies and navies in the world are in the countries where there are the greatest number of Christians. John Morley is able to say, in the opening chapter of his volume on Voltaire, that "more blood has been shed for the cause of Christianity than for any other cause whatsoever." And Mr. Lecky states that "with the exception of Mohammedanism, no other religion has done so much to produce war as was done by the religious teachers of Christendom during several centuries."

For fifteen centuries the official Church lost its conscience upon the subject of war. Only here and there a prophet or reformer raised his voice in protest, such as Francis of Assisi, John Wyclif, Peter Waldo, George Fox, William Penn, William Lloyd Garrison, Whittier, Tolstoi, the Moravians and the Society of Friends. Six centuries ago Dante called attention to the failure of Christianity to fulfill to mankind the promise of "peace on earth" made at the birth of Christ.

But today the Church is awakening. Humanity is being stirred. Jesus Christ, once crucified and long neglected, but still the conscience of the race, is reasserting his call to peace.

In conclusion, we maintain that war is unchristian. It is the antithesis of everything for which Jesus stood. The essence of Jesus' message was love; the dominant motive of war is hate. Jesus teaches the infinite worth of personality. Nothing cheapens or destroys personality so much as war, making men targets, "gun-fodder," enemies, anything but what they are in his view, sons of God.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus taught the Fatherhood of a God of love; war enthrones a tribal God of exclusive nationalism. Jesus taught brotherhood; war is the uttermost denial of brotherhood in its mass murder and destruction. The heart of Jesus' philosophy of life is self-sacrifice—"He that saaveth his life shall lose it;" the inevitable nature of war is

<sup>1</sup> Fosdick quotes a letter from an officer, which reads: "An enemy mine exploded here a few days ago and buried our brigade. Many of the men were killed but some of them were not much hurt, so we dug them out and used them over again." Fosdick adds: "Sons of God and brothers of Jesus Christ—dug them out and used them over again. That is war."

the destruction and sacrifice of others. Jesus taught the overcoming of evil with good, without the retaliation of vengeance or hatred or vindictive reprisal. "I tell you not to resist injury. \*\* Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors." Can we love the man whom we gas, or bomb, or bayonet? Can we bring ourselves to believe that this is what Jesus meant by love?

In a word, Jesus teaches the way of the cross; war is the way of the sword. Jesus comes that men may have life; war is organized for death. Jesus launches in the world his great offensive of love, of positive goodwill; war is the reprisal of vindictive destruction. Jesus seeks a kingdom of Heaven; war is a method of hell.

On moral grounds the case against war has now been briefly stated. Speaking for myself, I have come slowly and unwillingly to the conclusion that modern war is always wrong. It is wrong in its *methods*, as giving free rein to an irresponsible national sovereignty under a military necessity that knows no law, where might makes right and the moral law is abrogated; in employing untruth and deceptive half-truth as the essential methods of a distorted propaganda; and in the creation of hatred, leading inevitably to retaliation, reprisals and atrocities. It is wrong in its *results* as intrinsically and inevitably destructive—of material wealth, of human life and of moral standards. It is, moreover, futile and suicidal. Therefore war is unchristian and morally wrong as the utter negation of Jesus' way of life, the utmost antithesis to all his teaching, the denial of his cross and of the ultimate nature of God himself, as love.

Upon these grounds I finally renounce war. I will take no further part in it. I will not sanction or bless any future war between nations. I will strive with a large and rapidly increasing number of Christians to lead the Church to excommunicate it, that the state may finally outlaw it and make it as illegal as slavery, the duel, highway robbery or private murder. I will strive with all men of goodwill for the removal of the causes of war, the creation of an international mind and a growing sense of world brotherhood, and for the strengthening of such international agencies of justice as the World Court and the League of Nations. In this discussion I have chiefly confined myself to stating the case against war, as a foundation upon which to build a positive and constructive program for abolishing it. This does not mean that I am less interested in constructive

measures which are left to be dealt with in the second part of this book.

After examining all the evidence, the teaching of history, the nature and results of modern war, it finally comes down to an act of faith. A man believes, at the last, that either force or moral suasion is more effective in a given situation; either material or spiritual means will best work; either Jesus' way of life is practical or it is not. Faith is the giving of substance, or the proving in final experience, of things still hoped for and unseen. And peace is of such stuff as dreams are made of. Yet it must be made as solid and substantial as freedom, that was once but a dream under slavery and the tyrannies of the past. The same undaunted faith that challenged and assailed other age-long evils now throws down the gauntlet to war. Though it were as old as time, armored with its vested interests as was slavery, backed by the might of all the armies and governments on earth, though it be blessed by pulpits, advocated by the propaganda of publicists and politicians, we challenge here and now this Goliath of war. Joyfully we will cast in our lot with Jesus and his way of life and stake our lives upon his way of love and moral suasion.

In finally accepting his way of life for all things and for all time, I have found stable moral equilibrium. For the rest, I believe his principles will work, in so far as we honestly apply them, as well in our lives as in his. He is what I mean by success, and his cross is what I mean by victory.

It does not yet appear what the final effect of that way of life shall be. But *now* are we the sons of God? The call comes to every individual who dares to trust this way of life to cast in his lot with the Galilean who still has not where to lay his head in a warring world. "Happy are the poor in spirit. Happy are the gentle for they shall inherit the earth. Happy are the makers of peace for they shall be called the sons of God." The Son of God goes forth—to peace! Who follows in his train?

#### FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

The case against war inevitably involves the question of freedom of conscience. If war is morally wrong and unchristian, is the individual conscience free to repudiate it and abstain from it? Or is the state, as Hegel maintained, according to the Prussian view, the sole, supreme and self-

contained social organization, a concrete part of the Absolute, before which the citizen has no will worth while, apart from the whole?

If ten men are called to the colors and nine feel that they should go to war, while the tenth feels that he cannot violate his conscience, abrogate Jesus' way of life, or engage in what he regards as public murder any more than he could in private murder, should he obey the call of the state or of his conscience? We are aware of the gravity and complexity of this problem and that there is no easy solution.

We recognize at the outset the necessity of the state. Including within its borders many voluntary forms of association, this wider union of men in fellowship and co-operation in a nation is necessary "for the common good." And the indispensable organ of the nation is the state. We have yet to realize that more inclusive ideals, "Above all nations is humanity." In the meantime experience has proved the validity and authority of the family, the church and the state. But the authority of each is relative in its own sphere; it is not absolute.

Between order and freedom the state is ever 'between Scylla and Charybdis, a right hand and a left hand danger. On the one hand, if the state has all power it becomes an insufferable tyranny, as in Russia, both under the Czar and under military Communism. On the other hand, if the individual has all power and the state has none, it becomes a yet more disastrous anarchy, and chaos results. We must find some middle ground where the authority of the state is recognized in legitimate political activity for the common good, but where it does not trespass upon the personal freedom of the individual conscience, in the home and in the church. The state is the community organized for civic ends; the church is the community organized for religious ends. The church exists to carry on the work of redemption, and is not the rubber stamp of the state. It is autonomous in the moral and spiritual sphere.<sup>1</sup>

A state is a territory over which there is a government claiming sovereignty. Sovereignty is the ability to secure general assent. There is no sanction for law save the consent

<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. Parkes Cadman writes of "the liberty of the sons of God which they enjoy in heart, reason and conscience through faith in Christ. No lower form of authority should be allowed to usurp its sway over the entire life of Christian citizenship." \*\* The Protestantism which accepts the challenge of the New Testament faith must always resist theories that insist on the sovereignty of the democratic state as the organ of the popular will. \*\* His church alone determines the nature and application of her own religious convictions and beliefs." "Christianity and the State," pp. 328, 329.

of the human mind. The safeguards of the state are the wills of its members. Sovereignty resides in the whole people, while the actual government is usually controlled by the minority which is best able to manipulate the inert mass. Statesmen no longer, however, dare use the language of Burke and refer to "the swinish multitude." Cicero long ago showed that the highest law derives from the welfare of the people. It is an expression of general consent to measures which meet the general need. Right is that which should be granted because experience has proved it to be good; it must validate itself. There is no divine right either in kings or in democratic majorities. Both have frequently been wrong and the great advances of history have been made by individuals or groups who were unswept by the mob mind, or who dared resist the authority of church or state when they became tyrannical. "That state will be the stronger which binds to itself its members by the strength of a moral purpose validated. . . . The legal sovereignty of a state is not identical with its moral sovereignty. Government does not stand above the moral code of individuals."<sup>1</sup> The state is only one association among many and it must be judged by what it does for the community. The purpose of the state is to help the individual to be his best self and to enable all to live the "good life." But right cannot be determined by a majority vote. As between the state and the individual, the individual has no right that does not involve social good, while the state has no right of moral coercion over the individual conscience. It is difficult to draw the line of rights and duties between the two. As Justice Holmes points out, it must be pricked out in human experience on both sides.

We must distinguish between the nation and the state. Patriotism or love of country must not be identified with loyalty to the state. A time comes when a man can best serve his country by resisting its government, as in the case of Cromwell, Hampden, Washington and the signers of the Declaration of Independence, or Garrison on the question

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted here to "The Problem of Sovereignty," p. 19; and "Foundations of Sovereignty," pp. 8-39, 211-214, by H. J. Laski. "All great advances in human history have been made possible because individual men and women have acted on what they believed to be true whether it was popular or unpopular, whether it was safe or perilous, and most often when it was both unpopular and perilous. . . . Disarmament will come about when a sufficient number of people refuse any longer to bear arms, to manufacture armament, or to ask for armed protection." "To deny its (conscience's) authority is therefore to deprive a man of his moral personality. . . . To deny it is to commit moral suicide, to move toward utter degradation." "The Problem of Sovereignty," pp. 39, 42.

of slavery.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Report of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in England in 1924, says, "Even when the Government is dominated by public opinion and popular sentiment, no such infallibility can be claimed for it as to forbid the independent judgment of the individual conscience, even admitting that that too may and does often err. Still less can the state claim such absolute moral authority, when the machinery of government is, as sometimes happens, being used by politicians for their own individual interests, or the interests of a class or a group."

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson says, "This love of country will sometimes lead a citizen to resist the authority of Caesar. No government is given authority by God to force men to do what they believe is wrong. The apostles at the very start had to face the question whether they were to hearken to the civil rulers rather than to God. They settled it then and there, and they settled it right."

Zechariah Chaffee, Professor of Law in Harvard University, says in his "Freedom of Speech": "It is true that a majority decision is the best way of determining how the government shall act, but it is not the best way of deciding what is right."

We claim the right of liberty of conscience on two grounds; as a human right, and as a Christian right.

1. *As a human right*, we base the claim to liberty of conscience on the slow and painful achievement of our common humanity, won through long centuries in the field of conflict between authority and freedom. The fight for freedom of thought began twenty-five centuries ago among the Greeks of Ionia. It came to a climax at the trial of Socrates twenty-three centuries ago, in 399 B. C. The two-fold issue was freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. He maintained the *supremacy of the individual conscience*, that a man cannot be coerced by any human authority into any course which his own mind condemns as wrong; and the *public value of free discussion*. He says, "The sun might as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."<sup>2</sup> At the age of seventy, this reformer and philosopher of Athens was ar-

<sup>1</sup> Thus James Madison pointed out in 1799, "In the United States the people, and not the government, possess the absolute sovereignty, and the legislature or the executive is under limitations of power." <sup>2</sup> The American Revolution transformed into a working reality the view that the government was servant and therefore subjected to blame from its master, the people."

<sup>2</sup> "History of Freedom of Thought," J. B. Bury, pp. 31-38.

raigned before his 501 judges on the nominal charge of being an atheist and a corrupter of youth. In his noble *Apology* he says, "If you propose to acquit me on condition that I abandon my search for truth, I will say: I thank you, O Athenians, but I will obey God, who as I believe set me this task, rather than you."

For twenty-three centuries since Socrates, a long line of martyrs has maintained the human right of freedom of conscience. The Stoics upheld individual right against public authority, and the Roman Republic allowed full liberty of opinion. When Christianity became the one exception, punishable with death, thousands laid down their lives rather than yield to the authority of the state in the worship of the emperor or by taking service in the army. Their stand for liberty of conscience at last won the edict of toleration in 311 A. D.

Liberty of conscience was held against the tortures of the Inquisition. The Renaissance from the thirteenth century won back for Europe intellectual freedom, and the Reformation won moral freedom, by a long line of martyrs. John Huss was burned in 1415; Savonarola in 1498; Servetus by Calvin in 1553 because he doubted the doctrine of the Trinity; Giordano Bruno in 1600 in Rome for his heresies of belief in the science of Copernicus, etc.

The Puritans fled to America in 1620 to escape the persecution of church and state. America was founded on the belief in liberty of conscience. Roger Williams at Providence was the first completely to separate church and state and allow full toleration for Anglicans, Catholics, Baptists and Quakers. Complete toleration was established by Penn in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1682.

In the meantime the fight for liberty of conscience was being carried on in England. John Milton wrote his "Areopagitica," "a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing," in 1644.<sup>1</sup> John Locke followed with his "Letter Concerning Toleration." John Stuart Mill published his essay "On Liberty" in 1859.

Following his theses of 1517, Luther wrote his noble "Liberty of a Christian Man," and "On the Secular State: How Far Obedience is Due to It." He says, "God cannot

<sup>1</sup> "And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?" "Areopagitica."

and will not allow any one but himself to rule the soul and if the temporal authority encroaches on the spiritual domain it is important." Facing the Emperor Charles V and the representative of the Pope at Worms in 1521, Luther stands for freedom of conscience against church and state, alone if need be against the world.

There has always been a danger of the encroachments of the state upon personal rights from the time of the Pharaohs who built the pyramids of Egypt by slave labor, to Louis XIV, who claimed, "I am the State," and even to the democratic majorities of our own day. As Mr. Hughes well says, "The voice of the majority is that neither of God nor of the devil, but of man." If fifty-one per cent of the Senate, including those interested in the manufacturing of munitions, vote for war I cannot on that account surrender to them the control of my conscience upon a moral issue.

The fight for liberty as a legal right has been a long one. The writer stood recently in the British Museum before the old original parchment containing the demands of the Barons in 1215, which formed the basis of the Great Charter of Anglo-Saxon Liberties, "to all freemen, \*\* for us and our heirs forever, \*\* to have and to hold."<sup>1</sup>

Our ancient Anglo-Saxon rights of liberty are reasserted in our own Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776.<sup>2</sup> They are further defined in our Constitution.<sup>3</sup> In our state constitutions, twenty-six states declare in substance that it is the privilege of "every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Nineteen declare that "no human authority ought to control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience." Nine ordain that "no person may be molested in person or estate on account of religion."

<sup>1</sup> "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the Church \*\* be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold the aforesaid liberties, rights and concessions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places, forever." Magna Carta, Article 71.

<sup>2</sup> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."

<sup>3</sup> Amendment I: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances."

Amendment IV: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

Thomas Jefferson drew up the statute for the constitution of Virginia in 1776 for religious freedom, "Whereas, Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy," etc.

In 1676, William Penn had expressed the same ideal in the Constitution of New Jersey, "No men nor number of men on earth have power or authority to rule over man's conscience in religious matters."

Attorney General Stone, while Dean of the Columbia Law School, with Judge Julian Mack, of Chicago, made an official investigation of "conscientious objectors" for the Wilson Administration during the war. In a remarkable article on the subject of dealing with conscientious objectors, he says, "Both sound morals and sound policy require that the State should not violate the conscience of the individual. All our history gives confirmation of the view that liberty of conscience has a moral and social value which makes it worthy of preservation at the hands of the State. . . . When one realizes the seriousness of their purpose and the power of their influence . . . he can have no illusion that the mere application of force to them (conscientious objectors) . . . will bring any real solution of the problem. . . . Not a few of them were sentenced to be "shot to death by musketry," or for long terms of imprisonment by courts-martial for disobedience to military orders, and all were subjected to indignities, and in many cases to physical violence by their more patriotic fellows. . . . As was to be expected, cowards and slackers sought refuge among them, but the number of such was much smaller than has generally been supposed. . . . Most of them, at least of the religious objectors, were neither physical nor moral cowards. . . . One of them, Richard L. Stierheim, was drafted and sent overseas before the Government had provided any means for relief for the conscientious objector. In France, he refused to perform military service and deserted. He was tried by court-martial for desertion, convicted and sentenced to death. While awaiting execution of sentence, on November 3, 1918, as reported by the commanding General, he volunteered to go out into No Man's Land, at imminent peril of his life, to rescue the wounded. He rescued six men, unassisted, under machine-gun fire. He then volunteered to go into No Man's Land to bury the dead, and for nine successive days he continued to render

service of this character, exposing himself unhesitatingly to imminent peril of death in the aid and succor of wounded men. General Pershing forwarded his record to the Judge Advocate-General with the recommendation that his sentence be remitted and that he be assigned to duty with the non-combatant service."

It is against the background of twenty-three centuries of the human fight for freedom, of a thousand years of struggle in Anglo-Saxon countries for religious and political liberty, and of three centuries of American traditions that we claim the right of liberty of conscience on moral issues in peace or in war.

2. *As a Christian right*, we base the claim of liberty of conscience upon the supreme authority of Jesus Christ in the moral sphere. He claims to be Lord and Master here and allows no divided allegiance, no two masters. His is the moral categorical imperative. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me;" and by implication, he that loveth city or country more than me is not worthy of me.<sup>1</sup>

If Jesus had been summoned before Caesar, or his representative Pilate, or the Sanhedrin, and had been called to service in the Roman legions or to the defense of the walls of Jerusalem, would he have obeyed what he considered the call of God or man, the state or his conscience? If his disciples had been summoned before the Sanhedrin and called to service in war would they not have answered, as they did when forbidden freedom of speech to teach in his name, "Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye. . . . We must obey God rather than men."<sup>2</sup>

If the Kaiser calls a German Christian to fight for the fatherland and the latter, after having thought the whole question through deliberately and conscientiously, cannot do so without violating his conscience, is he under moral obligation to obey the Kaiser, which is the German word for Caesar, or to obey Christ? If the commander who sank the Lusitania is under orders from the Kaiser and Admiral Tirpitz to sink the ship, but hears the still small voice of conscience telling him to save the women and children, is he under moral obligation to obey Caesar or Christ?

If the Czar, which is the Russian name for Caesar, should

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 10:37.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 4:19, 5:29.

call you to serve with the fifteen millions of Russians in the last war, would you be under moral obligation to obey Christ or Caesar, God or man, the state or the enlightened Christian conscience?<sup>1</sup>

If you were called to serve in the Red Army under the present government of Russia, and there were no other government in sight that could preserve law and order, and if you differed fundamentally with its principles and practices, would you be under obligation to fight or to obey your conscience?

If you had been in England at the time of the Boer War, and Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald, both of whom later became prime ministers, had spoken out with many others against the war on moral grounds, would you maintain the ultimate supremacy of the state or of the Christian conscience?

If you had lived at the time of our Mexican war, which was condemned by Abraham Lincoln, General Grant and others, and you had believed it to be unjust, would you have been disloyal if you had spoken out against the war, or is the state absolute and supreme in war and peace?<sup>2</sup>

If Fall, who while Secretary of the Interior seemed most anxious to have us go down and "clean up Mexico," had succeeded in his aims, with Daugherty, Doheny, Sinclair and the yellow press in full cry, would you be under obligation to obey the state or your Christian conscience in such an event?

Or let us suppose that in the scramble for the final oil reserves of the world the United States should fall out with Great Britain, which God forbid, and suppose the press of both countries should represent the issue as a "defensive" war for our rights of property, of life, and of "national honor," which so often means national greed or economic imperialism, would you go out to take part in a war for oil,

<sup>1</sup> In 1917 the Russian General Sukhomlinov boasted: "I knew that the responsibility rested on me and I gave orders that mobilization should not be suspended. \*\* On the next morning, I lied to His Majesty. \*\* On this day I nearly lost my reason. I knew that mobilization was in full swing and that it was impossible to stop it. Fortunately, on the same day the Tsar was convinced afresh, and I was thanked for the good execution of mobilization; otherwise I should have been in jail long ago." American Historical Review, Vol. 26, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Mexican War, so unpopular and so criticized in some sections of the country, James Russell Lowell wrote, "Ez for war, I call it murder." Theodore Parker wrote concerning it, "Your President tells us it is treason to talk of treason is it? Treason to discuss a war which the government made and which the people are made to pay for? Why, if the people cannot discuss the war they have got to fight and pay for, who under heaven can? Whose business is it if it is not yours and mine?" Henry David Thoreau said, "In an age when injustice is done the only place for a just man is in prison."

and leave millions dead? Or would you demand that the question should be left to the World Court, or the League of Nations, or other method of arbitration? Would you say that any power that insisted on the use of violence and refused arbitration was in the wrong in its methods, whether "my country" or another?

Or let us suppose a war for a righteous end, in a cause similar to that of the last war. If you believe that warfare between modern nations is wrong in its methods and in its results and that it is unchristian, which would you count supreme on a moral issue, the state or the autonomous Christian conscience?

The exact line of demarcation between the right of the state and the right of the individual in matters of conscience has not been clearly defined in law. Until war is outlawed, I admit the *legal* right of the state to declare war and to pass a law conscripting the man power and the money power of the nation. But I hold to my ultimate *moral* right to refuse conscription on a fundamental moral issue. I believe in an adequate police force, municipal, national and, with adequate safeguards, international. I would make full provision for the state and the protection of life and property. I would render to Caesar, in the duty of good citizenship, the things that are Caesar's. But I must render to God the things that are God's; and nothing is more his than the moral sphere of the conscience. If the secular government is supreme here we have displaced God from the holy of holies of religion and have enthroned instead the idolatry of the state.

For myself, I believe in liberty of conscience on a moral issue. If ten men are called to the colors and nine feel they should go, I believe they should follow their conscience. If the tenth feels that he can no more commit what is to him public murder than he could private homicide, I believe that he too, as well as the other nine, should follow his conscience. I believe he should say, "I love my country and will gladly give my life for it in the only way which I believe is effective. As a conscientious objector I will cheerfully submit to any penalty of the law, to imprisonment or to death. I am ready to die but not to kill; to take up the cross but not the sword. With Luther I say, 'I cannot submit my faith to any external authority. . . . I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be right for a

Christian man to speak against his conscience. . . . Here I stand. I can say no other. God help me. Amen.'"

Our own government admitted the principle of the genuine conscientious objector in the last war and exempted from combatant service all Quakers, Mennonites and members of churches which had officially taken a stand against war, together with certain individuals who convinced the authorities of their conscientious scruples in the matter. Great Britain admitted the principle by establishing special courts to examine all individual conscientious objectors and sift them out from slackers and cowards. Doubtless a refusal to engage in war will seem to many today as impractical, as visionary, as unpatriotic and as disloyal as the stand taken by Jesus and his followers for the first three centuries seemed both to the Roman state and to the Jewish Church. "If thou release this man thou art not Caesar's friend. \*\* We have no king but Caesar. \*\* Crucify him. Crucify him." So cried the religious people of his day, and so many of them will cry again when the final issue comes between Christ and Caesar.

In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any destructive part in what they believe, with the Federal Council of Churches, "is the world's chief collective sin."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Question 39, Part II, for statements on this point adopted by various church bodies. Tribunals in Great Britain to examine appeals for the exemption of conscientious objectors were justified by Mr. Asquith, and by Lord Courtney in the House of Lords, on grounds of precedent. In 1580 exemption was granted to Mennonites in Holland in the wars against Philipp II; similar exemption to certain conscientious objectors was granted by Catharine of Russia in 1775, by Napoleon in France, and later by Pitt in England. Lord Chatham would have refused to serve against the American colonies in 1776. In Great Britain during the last war there were 16,100 conscientious objectors of whom some 1350 were absolutists; 71 of these died as the result of imprisonment before or after their release. In the United States, according to the War Department there were 3989 conscientious objectors out of 2,810,296 men. Of these 456 were sent to prison by court martial.

## PART II: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING WAR

BY KIRBY PAGE

### INTRODUCTION

For about eight years I have been speaking constantly on the subject of war. Many of these meetings have been followed by questions and discussion from the floor. I have also had innumerable personal conversations upon the subject. This experience has convinced me that the use of questions and answers is one of the most effective means of exchanging ideas. And so it has seemed worth while to list some of the questions which have been asked again and again and to write down my own answers to them. In doing this a certain amount of repetition has been unavoidable.

My attitude toward methods of seeking a warless world has been misunderstood and misrepresented so frequently that I feel impelled at this point to summarize the steps which seem to me to be essential if war is to be abolished: (1) Create, strengthen and abide by the decisions of appropriate agencies of international justice, i.e., the World Court, the League of Nations, etc.; (2) remove or deal adequately with the causes of war; (3) create the international mind and the international heart; (4) outlaw war; (5) repudiate and abandon the whole war system. No one of these measures in itself is adequate. All of them are essential to permanent peace. Therefore, it is the part of wisdom to create public opinion in favor of all of them. That is to say, I believe in advocating a positive and a negative program at the same time. *Any plan that falls short of the complete repudiation of the whole war system cannot generate the enthusiasm and sacrificial devotion needed in this greatest moral crusade of our generation.* For this reason, we are seeking to create public opinion in favor of the necessary constructive measures and simultaneously are em-

phasizing the necessity of outlawing and abandoning the whole war system.

### I. THE USE OF FORCE, POLICE AND WAR

#### 1. *Would you use force in defending the helpless?*

"What would you do if you saw a big brute of a man attacking a helpless woman?" If all efforts at persuasion were unsuccessful, I should not hesitate to use physical force in attempting to protect her. That is to say, I am unable to accept the doctrine of Tolstoi that the use of force is intrinsically wrong. To me the use of force is non-moral; it is good or bad depending upon the motive behind its use and the effects of its application. It seems obvious that in our modern world at least a measure of physical restraint is absolutely necessary in extreme cases in dealing with vicious persons and with those who are temporarily lacking in self-control—persons drunk with liquor, with passion, with hatred. In such cases the use of restraining force may not only protect the helpless but also have a redemptive effect upon the aggressor. It must be admitted, however, that the tendency of our day is to use force too easily and too frequently, without making full use of non-violent means of resisting evildoers.

It should be pointed out, moreover, that the use of force in protecting a helpless woman from a big brute is not a true parallel to modern war. In order to find such a parallel, it would be necessary to assume that in seeking to protect a helpless woman we would not only take the life of the man but would also kill his wife and children and a score of his friends and set in motion a process which would result in the death of the woman's children, her mother and a score of her friends. Would we be willing to kill the guilty man and ninety-nine relatively innocent people in seeking to protect a helpless woman? That is exactly what a great war does; for every person it protects, it destroys a hundred others.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2. *If the use of force is ever justifiable, can we not justify a righteous war by the same line of reasoning?*

There are many ways to use force, some good, some bad. Force is only one of many factors involved in war. It is, therefore, an unsound process to reason by analogy at this point. To say that we are justified in punishing a child

<sup>1</sup> See Part I, Section: "It is destructive of human life."

by force is not the same as to say that we are justified in using force in such a way as to cripple or kill the child. The action of Jesus in driving the money-changers out of the temple is frequently used as a defense of war. There are many interpretations of this incident, but the most that can possibly be claimed is that Jesus used physical force in accomplishing a good end. There is no evidence that he would have been willing to kill the money changers or that he would sanction the weapons of modern war.<sup>1</sup> The attempt to reason by analogy from a justification of the use of force to a justification of modern war leads to confused thought and disastrous consequences.

#### 3. *Is not war simply an extension of the police power?*

It is true that there are a number of points of similarity between the two. But the points of divergence are so numerous and fundamental as to destroy the value of any conclusions based upon analogy. There are four fundamental differences between war and the use of police. (1) The police function as neutral third parties for the purpose of restraining criminals and bringing them before a judicial body for trial and judgment. In war, force is used by the belligerents themselves, no effort being made to bring evildoers before a judicial body, each army acting as sheriff, judge, jury and executioner, usually under the sway of passion. (2) The police take action against the criminal himself; they do not kill his family and friends. Whereas war does not deal merely with guilty men but destroys multitudes of innocent people; indeed, it does far more damage to the innocent than to the guilty. The police of one city are not used against the police of another city.

(3) There is a fundamental difference in the situation which confronts the police and the army. In order to protect society, the police are compelled to restrain or convert the criminal himself; whereas in a national situation it is possible to deal with criminal rulers or officials by strengthening the groups within that country which are opposed to military aggression. For example, the nations of Europe could have protected themselves against Prussian militarists by such unmistakable evidence of goodwill toward Germany as would have undermined the militarists' appeal to fear, thus making it possible for the anti-military party to come into power. Even as it was, with the German people des-

<sup>1</sup> See Questions No. 33 and No. 34.

perately afraid of the existing military alliance between Russia and France, the struggle between the militarists and the anti-militarists was a close one, so much so that the Allies have claimed that the Kaiser chose 1914 as the time to begin the war because he was afraid he could not much longer maintain the support of his people for a huge army.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, it is not necessary to wait until kaisers, czars, kings and officials are converted; the danger may be removed by strengthening the anti-war forces within the aggressive nation.

(4) The police actually do serve as a constructive and redemptive force in society, in spite of many miscarriages of justice and occasional misuse of power. Modern war—whatever may be said about wars of previous generations—in actual operation is not constructive but so enormously destructive as to menace the existence of our civilization. In the aggregate it neither protects the innocent nor redeems the guilty. Society would not tolerate a police system which killed a hundred innocent people for every person protected from a criminal. Is it any more reasonable to support a war system that has such a result?<sup>2</sup>

*4. Do not the American and British fleets constitute an effective international police force?*

Police are not self-appointed and are not laws unto themselves. The peoples of the earth have not elected British and American armed forces as their guardians and have not given them power to settle disputes between nations. Therefore, it is not accurate to speak of the British and American fleets as an international police force. At this moment, no such body exists. The creation of an international police force is theoretically possible. If it were possible to create an armed force, controlled by a judicial body which was really international and impartial, and which would be used against the international criminals themselves, for the purpose of restraining and redeeming them, there would be no difference in principle between this international police and national police. Notice, I do not say national armies, for national armies are not genuine police but are a part of the war system. It seems to me practically impossible to assemble a genuinely international police at this time. Before that can be accomplished it will be necessary

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See Part I, Section: "The Definition of War."

to reduce to a minimum or disband altogether the various national armies and navies, and to create an effective world government with adequate jurisdiction. In the meantime, any armed force that went by the name "international police" would not be impartial but would be dominated by one or two large military powers.<sup>1</sup> In the event of a serious dispute the nations would almost surely be divided in sympathy. This might easily lead to war. For this reason any effort on the part of the League of Nations to use armed force would probably prove fatal to its usefulness and to the peace of the world. By the time the nations are able to create a genuine international police the need for such an armed body probably will have passed. In that day an international government will have no more need for military weapons to enforce a decision against a nation than our Supreme Court has need of an army to enforce a decision against one of our states.<sup>2</sup> My own opinion is that police may be used successfully and constructively against individuals or small groups but that armed force cannot be used with safety against an organized body like a city, a state or a nation.

## II. THE RESULTS OF WAR

*5. Is it not true that more good than harm resulted from our Revolutionary and Civil Wars?*

Few Americans have any doubt that the securing of our political freedom was a good thing, and still fewer doubt that the emancipation of the slaves was a blessing for humanity. The fact that great good came from these wars, however, is not in itself a justification of war. Further questions need to be answered. Could we have achieved our political independence without war? How did Canada, Australia and New Zealand secure their liberty? Could our slaves have been freed without war? Were not powerful economic factors hastening the doom of slavery? How were the slaves of the rest of the civilized world emancipated? Did the Civil War solve our racial problem? How do you account for the fact that in no other part of the world is there such intense feeling between whites and blacks as in this country? Did the Civil War settle the race question or did it set back its solution by a hundred years?

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 30.

<sup>2</sup> See Question No. 21.

6. *Did not the World War save the peoples of the earth from Prussian militarism?*

It is unquestionably true that the World War checked the designs of Prussian militarists and dethroned the Kaiser. It is not so certain, however, that the menace of German militarism has been permanently removed. Sixty million intelligent and highly trained people cannot permanently be kept down by armed force. If the Allied powers continue to treat them as a nation of criminals and continue to generate hatred and a desire for revenge, it is only a question of time until these millions will disturb the peace of Europe and the world. Hunger, hatred, the feeling that they have been betrayed and that strenuous efforts are being made to destroy the Fatherland, the desire for revenge and restitution—all this is fertile soil for the never-ceasing propaganda of reactionary militarists.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the war has driven militarism deeper into the heart of Europe. Several great militarisms now menace the peace of that continent. In spite of the destruction of two great armies, there are nearly as many men under arms now as in 1913. Everywhere nations are depending upon armed force for security and justice. All the major powers are making vigorous preparations for war. These preparations tend to increase fear, suspicion and hatred of other peoples, and if continued sufficiently long will again bring forth a harvest of destruction. How much more tragic experience is required to teach the nations that militarism cannot be ended by war? How much longer will we have to wait before peoples learn that security and justice cannot be maintained by armed force?

7. *Is not the maintenance of political liberty worth any cost?*

The whole history of mankind indicates the supreme value set upon political liberty. The freedom which we now enjoy has been purchased by the toil and suffering of those who have gone before us. There are many kinds of freedom. Is political independence the most precious of all? In seeking this end, are we justified in using any means that promises success? The belief is widespread that in seeking political freedom the end justifies the means. Even modern war, with its inherent and attendant evils, is justified because of the end in view. Is this a sound position for a follower of

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 36.

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Jesus to take? Did Jesus place political freedom above all other values? The answer is clear and incontrovertible. Jesus lived as a citizen of a country that was in bondage to militaristic Rome.<sup>1</sup> His countrymen deeply resented their captivity and were eagerly awaiting the coming of the Messiah, the son of their military hero David, who should lead them in rebellion against the tyrant and restore them to freedom. Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and yet he made no direct effort to throw off the yoke of Rome. If Jesus was a good judge of relative values, and if political freedom is the ultimate value, why did he fail to make this supreme effort? Because he could have led an armed rebellion only by sacrificing a more precious possession—his way of life. For Jesus the pearl of great price was a never-failing attitude of love and goodwill toward all men, including even the most wicked of his Father's children, expressed in a life of compassion, service and sacrifice for all. He could not engage in war without abandoning this attitude and forsaking this way of life. The end, important as it was, did not justify the means, involving the utter denial of his spirit and teaching.<sup>2</sup> There are only a few values so precious as political liberty. But even so valuable a possession should not be purchased at the cost of abandoning Jesus' way of life. There may be times, as was the case with Jesus, when the loss of political liberty should be endured temporarily rather than to make use of the weapons of Satan in seeking to cast out Satan.

8. *Bad as it is, is not war sometimes the lesser of two evils?*

Vast numbers of people sanction war on the assumption that it is the lesser of two evils. The murder of the helpless, the outraging of women, the tyranny of a foreign invader—surely these are greater evils than war. In this fashion runs the argument. Several other questions, however, need to be answered. Does war actually protect the helpless? Does it really protect virtue? Does it prevent tyranny? Whatever may have been the case in previous generations, war in its modern form certainly does not protect the helpless, but rather brings incalculable suffering upon millions of innocent people. Modern war surely does not protect virtue, but is always accompanied by an enormous increase in sexual immorality and a general lowering of moral standards. While modern war does prevent invasion and tyranny in

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See Question No. 34.

some countries, it involves invasion, occupation and tyranny in other countries. In the aggregate it does not prevent tyranny but is a most prolific source of it.

Is war the lesser of two evils? Lesser than what specific evil? Which of the great evils of modern life are absent from war? List them and see: wholesale slaughter of innocent and guilty with every conceivable weapon of destruction; widespread hatred and lust of blood; lack of reverence for personality; the supremacy of the law of necessity and the subordination of all normal values; world-wide propaganda of deceit and falsehood; the vast increase in sexual immorality; the refusal to love one's enemies; the shattering of faith in a loving God; forsaking the worship of one universal Father and bowing down before national war gods; sowing the seeds of future wars: are these lesser evils? The fact is that modern war is a combination of the greatest iniquities of life. Dr. Homer Folks spoke the literal truth when he said: "We may select from all these other enemies of human life their worst features, combine them into one quintessence of horror, intensify this to the nth degree, scatter it continent-wide, and that is war."<sup>1</sup>

9. *Could not a small war be waged without the terrible consequences of a great war?*

To be specific, could not a war be waged between the United States and Mexico without such destructive results? Undoubtedly such a conflict would be less terrible than a great war. But even such a war would create attitudes and involve the use of weapons which are a violation of Jesus' way of life. Moreover, such a war is absolutely unnecessary. The economic and political power of the two countries is so disproportionate that there is not even a remote possibility of the Mexican government attacking us, especially if our oil men behave themselves.

There is another phase of this question which needs to be considered. We can never be sure that a small war will remain small. This is especially true of any war in Europe. That continent is now so interdependent and interrelated that war is likely to spread. This is exactly what happened in 1914. A Balkan squabble grew into a World War. A local outbreak is always likely to involve other nations. Therefore, in considering the ethics of war, we must remember that a small war may easily become a great one.

<sup>1</sup> See Part I, Section: "War is Wrong in its Results."

### III. THE CAUSES OF WAR

10. *Have we any reason to revise the previous judgment that Germany caused the World War?*

In wartime the tendency is to personify evil and to think of the conflict as having been caused by a few wicked men in the ranks of the enemy. Throughout the conflict the Allies cast upon the German Kaiser the blame for the war. The Treaty of Versailles is based upon the guilt of Germany. Lloyd George is right when he states that without this foundation the Treaty would fail. Few competent observers doubt the guilt of the German leaders. And yet there is a growing conviction on the part of many Allied, American and neutral historians and statesmen that the facts in the case do not warrant the conclusion that Germany *alone* was guilty. The war was caused by the operation of powerful forces in the international world—imperialism, nationalism, militarism, alliances, secret diplomacy, fear. No one nation was wholly responsible for releasing these mighty forces. Certainly Germany was not alone guilty of imperialism. She came upon the field late and received only a fraction of the spoils which fell to Great Britain and France. Excessive nationalism was rampant in Germany, but it was visible also in other countries.

The persons who place exclusive blame upon Germany for European militarism overlook the fact that, while Germany probably had the most efficient army, at no time has she ever had the largest army or navy in Europe. The Russian army was the largest and the British navy was by far the most powerful. Germany ranked fourth in the total amount spent upon army and navy during the years between 1873 and 1913—France being first, Great Britain second, and Russia third.<sup>1</sup> Germany ranked third in the total amount spent upon armaments during the 14 years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war—Great Britain being first and Russia second.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that Europe was divided into two great armed camps, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. During the fourteen years prior to the war, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy spent upon armaments 1383 million pounds sterling, while Russia, France and

<sup>1</sup> The figures are as follows: France, 8,568 million dollars; Great Britain, 8,401; Russia, 7,581; Germany, 7,434. See Harvey E. Fisk, "French Public Finance."

<sup>2</sup> The figures are as follows: Great Britain, 889 million pounds sterling; Russia, 810; Germany, 765; France, 660.

Great Britain spent for the same purpose 2360 pounds sterling. Italy actually fought upon the side of the Entente and if her expenditures are transferred, the comparative figures are Germany and Austria 1094 millions against 2648 millions for the Entente.

The diplomatic events leading up to the war have received an endless amount of discussion. Since the Armistice there has been less and less tendency in Allied and neutral lands to maintain that Germany deliberately brought on the war. In 1920, Mr. Lloyd George said that the nations "glided, or rather staggered and stumbled" into the World War. Ex-Prime Minister Nitti of Italy says: "Now that imperial Germany has fallen, it is absurd to maintain that the responsibility belongs to Germany alone." After an exhaustive study of available evidence, Professor S. B. Fay, an outstanding American historian, writes: "On the whole, these new documents from Berlin and Vienna place Austria in a much more unfavorable light than hitherto. They likewise clear the German Government of the charge that it deliberately plotted or wanted the war." Still more recently Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, of Smith College, has written in the New York Times Current History Magazine: "The scape-goat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single State can no longer be supported. Probably the majority of competent students would assign the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in about this order: 'Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England.'"<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to agree with Professor Barnes concerning the relative guilt in order to be able to say that *the evidence makes it impossible for any fair-minded person to reach the conclusion that Germany alone was responsible for the war.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> May, 1924. In the June, 1924, issue of Current History Magazine are printed the opinions of ten outstanding American historians concerning Professor Barnes' conclusions. Prof. Chas. Seymour, of Yale University, says: "No sober historian has ever believed that Germany was solely responsible for the war. All who have studied carefully the recently published documents reject the theory that the civil leaders in any country, with the possible exception of Austria, deliberately plotted the World War." Prof. R. L. Buell, of Harvard University, says: "It seems impossible for any fair-minded person who reads Mr. Barnes' article and compares it with similar studies by Professors Fay, Schmitt and Gooch, to dissent from the unanimous opinion of these scholars that the responsibility for the World War must be divided between Germany and the Allies." Prof. Quincy Wright, of the University of Chicago, says: "I am inclined to think Professor Barnes has made a good case. Russia and France, as a matter of deliberate policy, seem to have been less anxious to avoid war than Germany."

<sup>2</sup> See Question No. 36.

11. *In what ways is economic imperialism a cause of war?*

Economic imperialism is the practice of industrially advanced nations of securing control of economic assets in the backward parts of the earth, through annexation, spheres of influence, concessions, investments and markets. Such economic advantages have frequently been gained by armed force or through diplomatic pressure supported by armies and navies. This process of securing control of the raw materials—oil, coal, iron, rubber, timber, food—and markets in backward nations has been operating in an intensified form since 1875, until practically the whole of Africa, great areas of Asia and the islands of the sea have passed under foreign control. Rivalry for control of these sections has been the chief cause of friction between the nations and is likely to cause further wars if left unchecked. During the past decade the United States has become increasing involved in world affairs by reason of heavy investments in various parts of the earth and because of the great importance of foreign markets in maintaining our own prosperity. Our custom of protecting our traders and investors in Latin America by threats of force and by actual armed intervention is creating much suspicion and ill-will against us. Out of such situations in the past many wars have arisen.<sup>1</sup>

12. *To what extent is military preparedness a cause of war?*

Preparedness causes fear and enmity in other countries and leads to counter-preparedness. This in turn serves as an excuse for greater preparedness and leads to a race of armaments, thus making an armed camp of the nations. Such a situation generates fear and enmity and makes difficult the establishment of friendly relations between nations. Preparedness also necessitates the support of a body of professional military and naval men who are highly trained in the art of destruction and whose environment tends to magnify in their minds the place of armed force and to decrease confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice. These men exercise considerable influence over national policies. Preparedness is an integral part of the war system and tends to be self-perpetuating. Major General Sir Frederick Maurice says: "I went into the British army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for war. I believe now that if you prepare thoroughly for war you will get war."

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 30.

13. *To what extent is extreme nationalism a cause of war?*

True patriotism does not necessarily lead to excessive nationalism. It is patriotism of the my-country-right-or-wrong type which is dangerous to the peace of the world. This readiness to fight on any occasion of the slightest insult to national "honor" leads to military preparedness, with its attendant evils. The tendency to magnify the virtues of one's own country and to excuse its defects while at the same moment exaggerating the faults of other nations and ignoring their merits, not only creates ill-will and counter-enmity but makes difficult any real sympathy and understanding between the peoples of various countries. Excessive nationalism also enables vicious rulers to take great chances in the diplomatic arena, being assured of the support of their people in any event. It is this same excessive nationalism, expressing itself in irresponsible national sovereignty, which has prevented the creation of effective agencies of government between the nations, without which no permanent peace is possible. The terrible danger of excessive nationalism in Germany is household knowledge in Allied countries. The menace of our own excesses is more visible in other lands.<sup>1</sup>

14. *In what ways is secret diplomacy a cause of war?*

Secret diplomacy is another cause of fear, suspicion and enmity of other peoples. It places enormous power in the hands of foreign office officials and enables them to operate without the knowledge of the people at large and often without the knowledge of parliaments. The whole atmosphere of diplomacy is one of suspicion and bargaining and tends to make diplomats cynical. Centralized and secret control of foreign affairs also gives unscrupulous groups a maximum opportunity to gain commercial concessions in other lands. Secret diplomacy has always been one of the main supports of economic imperialism. Irresponsible power in the hands of a small group of diplomats who were able to operate secretly was one of the major causes of the World War.

15. *To what extent is fear a cause of war?*

Fear is probably the most powerful factor in producing war. The peoples of the earth hate war and desire nothing so much as to be left in peace. The chief reason why they are willing to bear the heavy burden of taxation necessitated

<sup>1</sup> See Questions No. 17 and No. 18.

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by military preparedness and to respond to the call to bear arms is because of fear of what would happen if their country were unable to defend itself. The time has passed when governments can maintain support for a war of open aggression. Every government now defends its warlike preparations on grounds of necessity. The peoples of the earth will no longer support war on any other basis than self-defense or the defense of the helpless. Fear is the most prolific source of hatred. Indeed, some one has said that hate is impossible without fear. Concerning this question, Professor William McDougall, of Harvard University, says: "It was this fear-complex, pervading the mass of the people, that made it possible for the German Government to maintain its autocratic regime, to impose upon the mass of the people the burdens of militarism, and made it impossible for the four millions of Socialists to oppose effectively the aggressive gestures and actions of the Emperor, the Junkers, and the big business men. . . . Fear of aggression, of military invasion, is the tap-root of all the trouble; that which alone renders possible and inevitable the flourishing of militarism, the maintenance of armaments, and the imminent risk of war, in spite of the strong desire for peace of the vast majority of Europeans of all nations. And this fear, which was the fundamental cause of the Great War, has been magnified a hundred fold by that disaster."<sup>1</sup>

## IV. SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR

16. *So long as human nature remains as it is, are not further wars inevitable?*

This question is based upon the assumption that the fighting instinct and the acquisitive instinct are so deeply engrained in human nature that it is hopeless to expect the abolition of war in this generation. It is pointed out that human nature has not changed materially through the centuries; scratch a civilized man and you find a savage. Men have always waged war and they will continue to do so until that dim distant time when human nature has been changed. This point of view is widely held and deserves serious consideration.

It may be of value at this point to remind ourselves of certain historic facts. Until a century ago men had always owned chattel slaves. One of the stock arguments in defense of slavery was that it was inevitable until human nature

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 36.

was changed; the strong had always enslaved the weak and they always would do so. The acquisitive tendency is still operating in our society, and yet chattel slavery no longer exists. Throughout the greater part of human history, individuals and small groups have defended themselves by armed force. It was only a generation ago in America that men went armed and depended upon their own speed and accuracy for protection. Human nature is still much the same, yet the ordinary citizen no longer goes about armed with a revolver.

The history of duelling may also shed some light upon this question. For long ages it was said: So long as human nature remains the same, men will fight duels. Being what they are, men will always resent personal insults and will be quick to fight in defense of their honor. It was said that the only way to abolish duelling is by changing human nature or by removing the causes of duels. The fact is, however, that the institution of duelling was abolished before human nature was changed and before the causes were all removed. It is no longer the rule for individuals to go armed or to fight duels. Why? Because society has decided to settle personal quarrels in other ways and has created appropriate agencies through which disputes may be settled without resorting to armed combat. A similar possibility is open to the nations. It is possible for nations to do what smaller units of society have already done: settle their differences through orderly processes of justice, without resorting to violence.

It should also be pointed out that there is a very strong tendency among modern psychologists to discount heavily the old theory of rigid and unchanging instincts. "The human being" says Professor Dewey, "differs from the lower animals in precisely the fact that his native activities lack the complex ready-made organization of the animals' original abilities. Those who argue that social and moral reform is impossible on the ground that the Old Adam of human nature remains forever the same, attribute however to native activities the permanence and inertia that in truth belong only to acquired customs."<sup>1</sup> In this connection, Professor Hocking says: "As to structure, human nature is undoubtedly the most plastic part of the living world, the most adaptable, the most educable. Of all animals, it is man in whom heredity counts for least, and conscious building forces for

<sup>1</sup> "Human Nature and Conduct," p. 107.

most."<sup>2</sup> While Dr. David Starr Jordan says: "Human nature indeed changes very slowly, but the *point of view* may change very suddenly. Popular education should prepare for just such a change. It is a historic fact that every great collective wrong has died in its moment of apparent triumph; when men came to see it nakedly for what it was, a great revulsion followed. Thus passed away cannibalism, human sacrifices, the Inquisition, witchcraft persecution, religious wars, slavery, absolutism. War, the most powerful and most ruinous of all these, must follow in its turn."

17. *How can we end the anarchy which now prevails between nations?*

Anarchy is the absence of effective government and orderly processes of justice. There have been many stages of anarchy in human history. For long periods chieftains and feudal barons were laws unto themselves and lived in a state of anarchy with regard to each other. At various times in history cities likewise refused to acknowledge any higher power. Following our Revolutionary War the thirteen states lived for several years in a state of practical anarchy between themselves.<sup>2</sup> Human experience has demonstrated that the only way to end lawlessness and anarchy is by creating appropriate agencies of government. That is the way anarchy has been ended between chieftains, cities and states within a nation. Is it not obvious that this process must be carried a step higher if we are to have international peace? Anarchy between the nations can be ended only by creating international government with appropriate and well defined powers of legislation, administration and adjudication. So long as the thirteen states refused to yield any of their sovereign rights, it was impossible to form an effective Federal Union. Is it not imperative that the nations should now do what the thirteen states did after six years of disastrous hesitation, that is, voluntarily relinquish certain of their sovereign rights in favor of an effective government between the nations?

18. *Would not a super-government be a menace to our national freedom?*

There is always a possibility that a government may abrogate the rights of the individual. Indeed, effective govern-

<sup>1</sup> "Human Nature and Its Remaking," p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," p. 67 (paper edition); p. 153 (cloth edition).

ment is possible only where individuals are willing to delegate power to their representatives. If each individual insisted upon the right to drive his automobile anywhere he chose and at any speed, traffic regulations and traffic policemen would be useless, with chaos and loss of life as a result. State governments have not always adequately safeguarded the liberties of cities. Our Federal Government has frequently abridged the freedom of the various states. Is there any doubt, however, that on the whole there is a much greater degree of freedom and security for all concerned than if appropriate agencies of government did not exist? The fact of the matter is that in a complex and interdependent society, freedom can be maintained only on a basis of effective government. Anarchy destroys real freedom. The relations between nations are now more intimate and complex than was formerly true of cities. All of the arguments in favor of government between cities and states now apply with even greater force with regard to the necessity of appropriate agencies of justice between nations. Maximum freedom and security can be maintained only by the willingness of nations to pay the price which has already been paid by smaller units of society, that is, by voluntarily giving up any sovereign rights which stand in the way of creating adequate agencies of international justice. In this connection, Professor Borchard, of Yale University Law School, says: "Some readiness to admit of qualifications of the asserted absolute sovereignty of the state must accompany any plan for the international regulation of the causes of war. Nations that undertake to constitute themselves plaintiff, judge and sheriff in their own cause, cannot be expected to make any serious contribution to the promotion of peace." Mr. Philip Kerr, formerly Private Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, says: "All Europe must soon see what many Europeans already see, that Europe must master self-centered nationalism or nationalism will destroy European civilization." Absolute and irresponsible sovereignty on the part of the chieftain, the city, the state, or the nation prevents the effective functioning of government. The absence of effective government leads to anarchy. Anarchy destroys freedom. Is it not obvious, therefore, that real national freedom can be maintained only by creating effective international agencies of justice?

19. *Should the United States enter the present World Court?*

An effective international court is absolutely essential to the maintenance of peace. The failure of the United States to participate in such a court places a heavy handicap upon it, whereas our full co-operation would help greatly to insure its successful operation. A total of 47 nations have already signed the protocol of the World Court, including all major powers except Russia, Germany and the United States. Those persons who are opposed to the entrance of the United States into the World Court advance four main arguments: (1) It is unnecessary since we already have a Hague Tribunal; (2) it is dependent upon the League of Nations; (3) it does not have compulsory jurisdiction; (4) it does not provide for the outlawry of war. With regard to the first point, attention should be called to the fact that the Hague Tribunal is not a court in any real sense of the term; it is merely a panel of names from which arbitrators may be selected when desired by various governments, and makes no provision for permanent judges and regular terms of Court. Concerning the second objection, Secretary Hughes says: "Careful provision has been made to secure the independence of the Court and to safeguard the appropriate discharge of its functions as a judicial body in accordance with accepted judicial standards. . . . The League does not control the Court; that is an independent judicial body." Mr. Elihu Root also says: "The Court is absolutely independent and is subject to no control by the League of Nations or by any other political authority."

With regard to the third point, it is true that the Court does not have compulsory jurisdiction. The recommendation of the committee of jurists to this effect was not adopted. This is a grave weakness and thus far has prevented the Court from dealing with the most important international disputes. There is a provision, however, whereby nations can sign what is called the "optional clause" and thereby accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. Twenty nations have already signed the optional clause. None of the major powers, however, are included in this number. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the United States Senate is not yet ready to accept this clause. Would we not be more likely to get a Court with compulsory jurisdiction by entering the present Court now and seeking later to get the optional clause accepted?

Concerning the fourth objection, the failure to provide

for the legal outlawry of war as a crime is a very serious one and must be remedied if permanent peace is to be assured. The question arises, however, as to how war is to be outlawed. Such an international agreement cannot permanently be effective without a World Court. "War cannot be outlawed by proclamation," says Mr. Root, "or by resolution, or by mere agreement, or by mere force. War can be outlawed only by arraying the moral force of the civilized world in support of definite rules of conduct which exclude war, and by giving to that moral force institutions through which that force may be applied to specific cases of attempted violation." Is it easier to create an entirely new court or to change and strengthen the one which has already been accepted by 47 nations?<sup>1</sup>

#### 20. *What should we do about the League of Nations?*

The most significant thing about the League is that it is a serious attempt at continuous co-operation on an extended scale between the nations. At the League headquarters in Geneva men from many nations are working together day by day at common tasks. The range of their activities is very broad: the economic reconstruction of Austria, Hungary, and Albania, boundary disputes, the treatment of minorities, refugees, limitation of armaments, international labor legislation, transit, communications, customs procedure, the traffic in women and children, health, mandates, immigration, registration of treaties, intellectual co-operation, legal aid, research, publication of bulletins and journals. The League is rapidly become a clearing-house for the discussion of international problems. Professor Manley Hudson says: "It is not a new state, *sub* or *super*. It is not a new political personality. It is a method of doing business. It is a means for getting people together. It is a machinery for the manufacture of consent. It is an agency for conference and consultation." Out of the endless series of conferences being held under its auspices and out of the agreements reached and treaties signed, is coming the international law which in time will be substituted for war. The permanent secretariat and the permanent commissions are laying the

<sup>1</sup> For further study see the documents contained in "The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice" and "The Permanent Court of International Justice," by John Bassett Moore, both published by the American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th St., New York City. For the arguments against the entrance of the United States into the Court, see Miss Frances Kellor's brief, published by the American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois. See also Miss Kellor's new book "Security Against War."

foundation for effective international agencies of administration. If it is true that peace can be maintained only by creating an international government with adequate power, and that international legislation, administration and adjudication are all essential, then a strong case can be made for the League and the World Court. Certainly they are steps in the direction of permanent and effective agencies of justice between the nations.

There are grave weaknesses in the League at the present time, including the following: (1) Several major powers are not included in its membership; (2) too much authority is placed in the hands of the Council and not enough in the hands of the Assembly; especially is it true that the major allied powers have been given undue influence; (3) it lacks sufficient jurisdiction and power to tackle successfully the outstanding problems which are threatening the peace of the world; (4) it provides for the ultimate use of armed force; (5) it makes no provision for the outlawry of the whole war system. No friend of the League has a right to overlook these serious limitations. The League cannot function with full efficiency until Russia and Germany are admitted to membership and are given an equal place on the Council with France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, and until the United States comes in on equal terms. The League must be made more democratic in two ways; it must increasingly represent the peoples of the different nations rather than merely the various governments, and an increasing voice must be given to the large number of smaller nations. Thus far the League has not been permitted to deal with such major problems as the Ruhr and has dealt inadequately with the Corfu crisis. It is true that the League is showing less and less inclination to resort to military force or economic boycott as means of enforcing its decisions, but the mere fact that these provisions are still contained in the Covenant are a constant menace. Still more dangerous is the failure of the League to take drastic steps toward the complete outlawry and abandonment of the war system. Some of these limitations are due to immaturity and some to the refusal of the various nations to grant adequate power to the League and their unwillingness to abide by its decisions. How can the people of the United States be of most aid in removing the dangerous elements of the League and strengthening it where it is weak? By staying out and criticizing or by going in, with such reservations as are deemed necessary, and

assuming our full share of responsibility for improving and strengthening it?<sup>1</sup>

21. *In what ways should the League and the World Court enforce their decisions?*

In my opinion the League and the Court must rely upon the moral conscience of mankind and upon organized public opinion for the execution of their decisions. In rare cases expulsion from the League and diplomatic or economic boycott might be used. Any effort on the part of the League to use armed force would probably have disastrous results upon its own usefulness and might easily precipitate another war. The economic blockade when rigorously applied is as deadly as war and causes great suffering to neutrals as well as to the nation against which it is directed.<sup>2</sup> Our Supreme Court is often used as an illustration of the power of public opinion in sustaining legal decisions. The question is open for debate whether or not the various states would obey the decisions of the Supreme Court if the Federal Government had no armed force upon which to fall back if necessary. My own opinion is that the Supreme Court has absolutely no need for armed force in getting its decrees accepted by the various states. I am not referring to the acceptance of the decision of the Supreme Court by individuals. That is not the problem with which we are concerned at this point. The decisions of the League and the World Court do not deal directly with individuals but with nations. In every civilized nation there is a liberal element which will respect the judgment of such a judicial body. There may be times, as has been the case with our Supreme Court, when decisions may not be accepted immediately and completely. Patience is a necessary virtue in international affairs as well as in domestic relations. It seems clear that in the long run justice and security are more likely to be obtained if the League and the Court depend upon organized public opinion rather than upon armed force or an economic blockade. In this connection, Secretary Hughes says:

<sup>1</sup> For further study see the "Handbook on the League of Nations" published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston; "League or War" by Irving Fisher; "Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League," edited by Hamilton Foley. For arguments against the League see Miss Kellor's brief and book mentioned in a previous footnote.

<sup>2</sup> It should be pointed out that there are fundamental differences between the boycott and the blockade. Gandhi's policy of non-co-operation is an example of the former, while a good example of the latter is found in the use of armed force by the Allies to prevent food and other necessary articles from entering Germany during the war and for some months after the Armistice.

"There are those who desire to see an international armed force to compel the carrying out of decisions. Those who make this demand generally assume that there will be substantial unity among those furnishing the armed force so that it can be used. But when there is such international unity the power of public opinion is at its maximum and there is the least need for force, while in the absence of such unity the armed force is likely to remain unused. The truth is that the decisions of the Court will have the most solemn sanction that it is practicable to obtain. When nations agree to submit a dispute to a tribunal and to abide by the decision, its observance is a point of international honor of the highest sort. You can really have no better sanction than this and the obligation is one which will be all the more keenly felt when the decision is not simply that of a temporary arbitral tribunal, but of a permanent court supported by practically all the nations of the world."

22. *Can a person who is opposed to all war consistently support the League of Nations?*

In answering this question it must be remembered that the Covenant of the League provides for the use of armed force as a last resort against a recalcitrant nation. Article 16 contains the following provision: "It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League." The question therefore arises: Can a person who is opposed to all war support the League? This is exactly the same question which confronts the individual with regard to supporting his own government which maintains an army and navy. A citizen can consistently pay general taxes and support his government without endorsing every practice of that government. Jesus paid taxes and yet no one would say that he endorsed Roman militarism. If a citizen is justified in giving general support to his government while reserving the right to condemn certain of its activities and refusing to take any direct part in the practices which seem to him to violate his religion, can he not take the same attitude toward the League? I believe that the League of Nations, revised and strengthened, is necessary to the maintenance of peace and freedom, and yet I am altogether opposed to the provision which calls for the use of armed force

by the League. Is it not justifiable to commend the general activities of the League, while condemning this particular provision of the Covenant?

*23. What attitude should we take toward the movement for the outlawry of war?*

The idea of the legal outlawry of war as a crime has been sponsored chiefly by the American Committee for the Outlawry of war.<sup>1</sup> Its main provision for an international agreement which would reverse the present respectable and legal status of war, making it illegal and criminal, deserves the enthusiastic support of all advocates of peace. At the present time we put in jail those men who refuse to fight when drafted and honor the war-makers. If we desire permanent peace we must reverse this order and punish the war-makers and honor those men who renounce war as sinful and criminal. Concerning the outlawry of war, Professor John Dewey says: "How long have we been taking steps to do away with war, and why have they accomplished nothing? Because the steps have all been taken under the war system. It is not a step that we need, it is a right-about-face; a facing in another direction. \*\* We can, if we please, take steps to perfect the international law and international courts under the old system, but let us not delude ourselves to think that in improving details of this system we are taking a single step for the elimination of the war system of the world." It should be pointed out, however, that while the plan of the American Committee provides for an international court with affirmative jurisdiction and for the codification of international law, it makes no provision for permanent agencies of international legislation and administration, without which the outlawry of war cannot be made permanently effective. Indeed, many of the supporters of this movement for the outlawry of war are vigorously opposed to any agency like the League of Nations.<sup>2</sup> Is not a revised and strengthened League necessary in order to make effective the outlawry of war?

*24. Would a law requiring a national referendum before a declaration of war be of any great value?*

Such a provision would help to prevent war, but it is by no means a panacea. Such a law would make it more dif-

<sup>1</sup> 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>2</sup> For a good account of this movement, see Miss Frances Kellor, "Security Against War."

ficult for diplomats to secure support for a war of aggression. It should be remembered, however, that skillful propaganda may be used on such a scale as to arouse and inflame the passions of the people and thus gain a favorable vote for war in the event of a popular referendum.

*25. Would a law providing for conscription of wealth in wartime help to prevent war?*

In his Memorial Day address in 1923, President Harding said: "In the next war, if conflict ever comes again, we will not alone call to service the youth of the land, which has, in the main, fought all our wars, but we will draft every resource, every activity, all of wealth, and make common cause of the nation's preservation." Would the enactment of this sentiment into law be of any great value? Personally, I am strongly opposed to the conscription of life for war purposes, but if there is to be drafting of life, surely the conscription of wealth is a hundred-fold more justifiable. Is there any possible excuse for allowing some men to retain their property while other men are giving up life? Is property more sacred than flesh and blood? What shall we say of those men who not only retain their property, but actually make great gain out of war? Would not a law conscripting wealth enable us to deal adequately with war profiteers? We should be on our guard, however, against regarding such a law as a panacea. Just as it is possible to arouse the patriotic devotion or the hatreds and passions of men to such an extent that they are willing to lay down life, so will they be willing to sacrifice property if sufficiently aroused.

*26. How should we deal with a "mad-dog" nation?*

The answer to this question is that there is no such thing as a "mad-dog" nation.<sup>1</sup> Vicious propaganda is responsible for the spread of this false idea. There may be rulers or leaders who are "mad," but it is impossible, as we have often been told, to indict a whole people. Whatever may have been the case in times past, we have now reached the point where the peoples of the various nations will not support an avowed war of aggression. Wars are now supported because the people concerned are convinced that their

<sup>1</sup> Persons who regard the Germany of 1914 as such a nation should see Professor Barnes' article in the May, 1924 issue of Current History Magazine, and the comments of ten American historians in the June, 1924 number. See also Questions No. 36 and No. 15.

country is in danger or because of some supposed grave injustice. It cannot be repeated too often that the way to deal with vicious rulers is by strengthening the liberal forces within that country and thus remove the danger from within. What "mad-dog" nation have we any reason to fear? Let us be specific. Japan? Great Britain? Germany? France? Russia? Canada? Mexico? How shall we guard ourselves against a supposed menace? By arming to the teeth, and thus helping to perpetuate the deadly race of armaments? Or by such unmistakable evidences of goodwill toward the people of the supposedly dangerous nation as to remove their fears and allay their suspicions of attempted injustice on our part? Are security and justice to be achieved by armed force or by creating sympathy and understanding between the various peoples? Toward which cause should we make the larger appropriations and devote the most energy, to armaments or to the extension of the international goodwill?

*27. What should we do in case of a threatened invasion by Japan?*

The most effective thing, if it could be accomplished, would be to remove the desire for invasion. Is this an impossible hope? Is war with Japan inevitable? The answer to these questions depends at least as much upon what we do as upon what the Japanese do. If we continue to discriminate against them and thoughtlessly enact legislation which they regard as a direct insult, if our yellow press continues its false and exaggerated propaganda, and if our leaders appeal for increased armaments to be used against them, it does not require the prophetic gift to say that we are likely to have serious trouble with Japan within the next twenty or thirty years. But what possible excuse is there for such a fatal policy on our part? Would it not be much wiser to seek to understand the feelings and needs of the Japanese and join with them in a co-operative effort to solve common problems? Following the Washington Conference and prior to our recent immigration legislation there was a rapidly increasing anti-military movement within Japan. Would it not be the part of common sense for us to take such action as would strengthen that movement? The Japanese are an exceedingly sensitive people and respond quickly to public opinion in other nations. This fact presents us with a great opportunity to discourage militarism and to promote

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the liberal movement within Japan. The creation of goodwill toward us by the Japanese does not necessitate the throwing open our doors for unrestricted immigration from that country. All that it involves is placing the Japanese on terms of equality with other peoples. If they were placed on the quota basis, as are the people of other nations, less than 200 Japanese would be entitled to enter annually. Would these few Japanese be as great a national menace as the creation of a vast mount of ill-will toward us, thereby increasing the power of the militarists? Have we any guarantee of security if we depend primarily upon armed force?<sup>1</sup>

*28. Would we not be justified in going to war with Turkey in order to protect the Armenians?*

A prior question needs to be asked: Is it possible to protect the Armenians by means of war? This question cannot be answered without knowledge of the situation which actually exists in the Near East. If Turkey alone were guilty of massacres and if surrounding nations would unite in a military effort to protect the Armenians, there might be some hope of success. But as a matter of fact, no such situation exists. The massacre of the Armenians is part of a very complex struggle for control of the Near East, a struggle which goes back to the Crusades and which has involved not only the various nations of that region, but also the major European powers. An illuminating account of this conflict has been given by Professor Arnold Toynbee, a recognized authority on the subject, in his "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey." After calling attention to the historic struggle of the Western powers in the Near East, Mr. Toynbee summarizes the situation which has prevailed since the World War in these words: "France was backing Poland vigorously, and Hungary tentatively, against Germany and Russia; and she was backing Turkey tentatively against Russia and vigorously against Greece because Greece had been backed by Great Britain. Great Britain was backing Greece against Turkey, because an aggrandised Greece dependent on British support would save Great Britain the trouble of herself imposing her Eastern peace-terms. Italy was backing Turkey against Greece as payment on account for prospective economic concessions in Anatolia; while Russia was backing Turkey against Greece

<sup>1</sup> In answer to Question No. 37 I have expressed my opinion as to what we should do in case of actual invasion of our soil by a foreign army.

to deter from purchasing the backing of any of the Western Powers who were Russia's enemies. Russia also backed the Armenian Republic of Eriwan to a limited extent against both Turkey and Azerbaijan. . . . The Greek and Turkish pawns carried on the game of the French and English players."

Out of this rivalry and intermittent warfare have arisen numerous atrocities, the best known of which are the Turkish massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians. The fact of these bloodthirsty deeds is well authenticated. These massacres by the Turks do not stand alone, however. Concerning the situation in 1912, Mr. Toynbee says: "Streams of Turkish refugees fled before the face of the Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian armies. As the Turkish forces fell back, the Christian population rose against the Moslem minority in the invaded provinces. Villages were looted and burnt wholesale; there was also murder and violation; and the reign of terror by no means closed when the victorious states took over control. The hundreds of thousands of refugees who arrived at Constantinople, and kept on arriving after the conclusion of peace, were destitute and terror-stricken." Mr. Toynbee also tells us that "during the European war, while people in England were raking up the Ottoman Turks' nomadic ancestry in order to account for their murder of 600,000 Armenians, 500,000 Turkish-speaking Central Asian nomads of the Kirghiz Kazak Confederacy were being exterminated—also under superior order—by that 'justest of mankind' the Russian Muzhik." Speaking of his experiences in 1921 as an eye-witness of Greek atrocities against Turkish peasants, Mr. Toynbee says: "My strongest impression during this horrible experience was of something inhuman both in the bloodthirstiness of the hunters and in the terror of the hunted." The evidence is clear that the massacres are not all on one side.

Can we protect the Armenians by war against Turkey? How shall we go about it? If we wait until a massacre starts how much military help could we render at this distance? Or shall we station permanently a large body of American troops in the Near East? Would this latter procedure make for peace or would it simply add another potential cause of war and massacre? The one thing about which we can be reasonably certain is that any effort on our part to protect the Armenians by military force would result in an even greater loss of life. Their protection depends

upon the ending of the rivalry of the Western Powers for political, military and economic control of the Near East, the creating of effective agencies of international government and the strengthening of the liberal forces within Turkey.

29. *Would we not be justified in going to war with Mexico in order to prevent Mexican bandits from crossing the border and killing our citizens?*

The actual result of our going to war with Mexico for such a reason would be to cause a greater loss of life and more destruction of property than would have been occasioned by the bandits. How are we to protect ourselves against Mexican bandits? In the same way that we would deal with bandits on the streets of Chicago or a mob in Atlanta; that is, by the police. The use of police against Mexican bandits on our soil would not necessitate war with Mexico. That the Mexican Government will ever declare war against us or move an army across the border to attack us seems to me to be a very remote eventuality.<sup>1</sup> Of course, it must be admitted that such action is within the realm of possibility. There is a possibility also that Canada may attack us. But who believes that this possibility is serious enough to justify a campaign of abuse and preparedness against Canada. Would we be safer than we now are if we had forts and a standing army along our northern border? Why should we not seek security from a Mexican attack in the same way that we have protected ourselves against Canada during the past century; that is, by international understanding and co-operation, without resorting to armed preparedness?

30. *How far should our Government go in protecting the property and lives of our citizens in other lands?*

Before this question can be treated adequately, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the historic consequences of the policy adopted by strong governments of sending armed troops into another country, usually a weak or backward country, in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens. The fact is that this has been the primary method of imperialistic expansion. Traders have gone from these strong countries into undeveloped regions or into weak nations. When property and life have been threatened they

<sup>1</sup> In answer to Question No. 37, I have expressed my opinion as to what we should do in case of actual invasion of our soil by a foreign army.

have called upon their own government for protection. Very frequently such calls for help have been the occasion for military occupation of another country. Sometimes this occupation has taken the guise of a "protectorate," while in many other cases it has meant outright annexation and permanent control. This practice has been followed by all the major powers during the past half century and has been one of the chief causes of war. Our own government has insisted upon its right to send troops into another country if necessary to protect American lives and property. In his message of December, 1904, President Roosevelt said: "Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however, reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence to the exercise of an international police power." At various times we have acted on this principle and have sent armed troops into various central American countries, assuming a "financial protectorate" over several of them for extended periods.

How far should our Government go in protecting the property and lives of our citizens in other lands? I have two strong convictions regarding this question: First, our government is not justified in sending armed troops into another country for any purpose; and second, whatever outside interference is needed in order to maintain security within a given country should come from a genuinely international source and not from a single nation. With regard to the first point, it may help us to think more clearly if we reverse the question and ask: Has another nation a right to send armed troops into the United States in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens who reside here? During the middle of last century when life and property were unsafe in great sections of our country, would Germany or England have been justified in sending over an army to protect their citizens? Suppose that race riots continue in this country and that on numerous occasions citizens of France lose life and property, would this be a justification for French armed interference on our soil? Suppose the feeling against the Japanese grows more intense on the Pacific Coast and that the lives and property of Japanese citizens are constantly menaced, would we allow any inter-

ference from Japan? Suppose that in the riots and warfare incident to our industrial struggle, citizens of Italy are killed at periodic intervals, would we be willing to have Italian troops land on our shores? The answer to all these questions is obvious. Under no circumstances would we consent to armed interference in our affairs. Why, then, should we claim rights which we are not willing that other nations should possess?

Does this mean that no effort is to be made to protect the lives and property of our citizens in other lands? Not at all. It simply means that we will protect them in a way that does not violate the rights of other nations and that does not lead to periodic wars. Whatever outside interference is needed should come from a genuinely international source. Only in this way can really impartial and judicial action be taken. President Roosevelt fell into a very common error when he referred to armed interference on our part as "the exercise of an international police power." That is exactly the way the British talk of their fleet and Poincare referred to the French army in the Ruhr. This is not only a common fallacy, but a very dangerous one. No nation has a right to arrogate to itself the duties of international police. The Latin American nations deeply resent our self-appointed guardianship over them. The time has come when we should abandon the practice of sending armed forces into other nations and should join resolutely in the task of creating effective international agencies of justice and security.<sup>1</sup>

31. *Is passive resistance an effective weapon against armed aggression?*

Since the World War, there have been two major experiments in passive resistance: that of Gandhi and his followers in India, and that of the Germans in the Ruhr. Neither of these efforts was entirely successful; yet both of them exerted a very powerful influence over the course of events. Let us notice first the experiment in India. It is generally agreed that Gandhi exercises a greater power in India than any man who has lived since Gautama Buddha. He adopted the policy of non-co-operation with the British Government as a last resort, after he was convinced that all other methods of achieving justice and freedom had failed. He defined his policy of non-co-operation and non-violence in these words:

<sup>1</sup> See Question No. 21.

"The follower of truth will conquer the tyrant by love. He will not carry out the tyrant's will, but he will suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered."

His appeal to his countrymen received a truly marvellous response. Multitudes of Indians took the vow of non-co-operation and non-violence. The movement assumed huge proportions and had a profound influence on the British policy. It was not wholly successful, however. The chief obstacle with which Gandhi had to contend was the tendency of his followers to resort to violence. An intimate friend writes: "The agony of spirit which Mahatma Gandhi went through during those days is only known to those who were nearest to him. An angry meeting of leaders took place at Delhi. They wished to go forward in spite of the violence which had occurred, but Mahatma Gandhi refused to carry on the struggle in its further stages while violence was abroad. He sadly confessed, with an almost broken heart, that 'the spirit of violence was in the very air.' " Soon after this time Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison. After two years, he was released by the new Labor Government in England. The non-co-operation movement has by no means run its course and in all probability will yet be the most powerful factor in securing freedom for India.

The experiment in the Ruhr was of a very different sort. It failed to accomplish the withdrawal of the French troops. And yet, contrary to all predictions, passive resistance was maintained for ten months, in spite of the suffering which it involved, and undoubtedly influenced the international situation in a very powerful way. There were three factors which prevented a more complete success of this movement: (1) It was not an attempt to overcome armed force with love and goodwill, but rather a sullen resistance, accompanied by hatred and some violence; (2) it was the only means of resistance which they had and was a policy of desperation, therefore its appeal to the outside world was decreased; (2) the war hatred against Germany in America and other lands was still strong enough to prevent any effective protest against the actions of France. Passive resistance of a purely negative sort, and which is accompanied by hatred and the willingness to use violence if an opportunity presents itself, is doomed to failure. It seems equally certain, however,

that non-violent resistance of evil in the spirit of active goodwill and service for the aggressor and the willingness to endure humiliation and suffering in such a cause is the most powerful force in this world.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. THE CHURCHES AND WAR

##### 32. Does not the Old Testament justify war?

There is no doubt that some writers of the Old Testament believed that God sanctioned righteous wars. Indeed, some very bloodthirsty passages are to be found. It would be a great mistake, however, to say that the Old Testament uniformly sanctioned war. Within its chapters are to be found powerful protests against war and numerous prophecies of a warless world. Listen to these words from Isaiah: "And he will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. \*\* Then justice shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence forever." Ezekiel says: "And they that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth and shall make fires of the weapons and burn them, both the shields and the bucklers, the bows and the arrows, and the handstaves, and the spears, and they shall make fires of them seven years." It is recorded in Zechariah: "And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horns from Jerusalem; and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the nations: and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from river to the ends of the earth."<sup>2</sup>

Thus we find different opinions concerning the righteousness of war recorded in the Old Testament. The Bible is a progressive revelation of God. Within its pages are evidences of growth in moral perception on the part of the Hebrew people. Should modern war be judged by the standard of the combatants or by the vision of the prophets? Moreover, is the teaching of the Old Testament as valid for Christians today as the higher revelation of the New Testament?

<sup>1</sup> See C. M. Case, "Non-Violent Coercion."

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah 2:4; 32:16, 17. Ezekiel 39:9. Zechariah 9:10.

33. *Did Jesus ever face a war situation?*

The view is very widely held that Jesus never had to make a decision concerning the use of armed force. What are the facts in the case? Jesus was a citizen of a country which was in political bondage to Rome. If Germany had won the war and permanently occupied Belgium, exercising the power of taxation and the appointing of political and ecclesiastical officials in that country, the situation would have been similar to the one which confronted Jesus. His countrymen deeply resented the tyranny of militaristic Rome and were eagerly awaiting the coming of the Messiah who should deliver them from bondage. Jesus claimed to be the long expected leader. Numbered among his disciples and followers were men, known as Zealots, who were committed to a policy of violence against the invader. His public ministry occurred during a period of peace but all the while the fires of rebellion were smouldering. Under such circumstances it seems absolutely certain that Jesus must have debated the question with himself whether or not he would use violence against the conquerors, as Judas Maccabeus had so brilliantly done in a previous generation. In this connection, Professor Simkovich, of Columbia University, says: "From our historical analysis of the situation it becomes quite evident that Jesus had to resent deeply the loss of Jewish national independence and the aggression of Rome. Had he not resented it, there would have been no cause for his fervent humility and acceptance. \*\* There is little doubt that so great an impression was made by Jesus upon his day and generation that had he wanted to be king and lead his people as the Messiah they expected should have done, he would have been joyously acclaimed throughout Judea. Yet Jesus chose and had to choose the cross. Why did he have to reject the throne? Why did he have to choose a cross?" What concerns us here is the fact that he did face the possibility of using armed force and deliberately turned away from it.<sup>1</sup>

34. *Can you imagine Jesus sanctioning or participating in any modern war?*

It will aid clear thinking if we adhere rigidly to the question. At this point we are not asking: Would Jesus sanction the use of force or the exercise of police power? Would he

<sup>1</sup> For a most illuminating discussion of this whole question, see Professor V. G. Simkovich's "Toward the Understanding of Jesus." A paper edition may be secured for 25 cents from the Pamphlet Department, 311 Division Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey.

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be in sympathy with the aims of any war or the spirit manifested by soldiers? The question before us is: Would he sanction modern war? This question cannot be answered satisfactorily by the proof-text method. What we need to do is to bring together the realities of war and the great fundamentals of Jesus' life and teaching, and see if there is any possibility of reconciling them. Let us notice first the three phases of war: (1) preparedness, with its race of armaments, the training of men in the science of organized slaughter, and the deliberate creation of fear, suspicion and hatred of other peoples; (2) the actual combat, during which military necessity and irresponsible national sovereignty reign supreme, involving the use of weapons of terrible destruction, including machine guns, heavy artillery, air raids, boiling oil, poison gas, battleships, submarines, blockades, starvation, with the consequent slaughter of multitudes of innocent people, atrocities and counter-atrocities, deceit and falsehood; (3) further preparedness and the perpetuation of the vicious circle of fear, suspicion, hatred, preparedness, war; more fear, more suspicion, more hatred, more preparedness, more war.

Now what is Jesus' way of life? It includes: the common Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of all men as members of one great family, the supreme value of every individual, the duty of sympathy and goodwill, love even of one's enemies, the absence of anger and hatred, the avoidance of retaliation and revenge, the duty of never-ending forgiveness, the obligation of the strong to bear the burdens of the weak, the willingness of the innocent to serve and suffer for the guilty—all summed up in the cross of Calvary. When these two sets of realities are brought face to face, their absolute irreconcilability is obvious. The way of the sword and the way of the cross involve utterly different attitudes and practices. When it is remembered that in no modern war is the guilt all on one side, it becomes all the more evident that we are dealing here with two absolutely contradictory ways of life. It is, therefore, utterly impossible for me to imagine Jesus abandoning his own way of life and making use of the weapons and practices inherent in modern war.<sup>1</sup>

35. *Is Jesus' way of life practicable for nations?*

The belief is widespread that the teaching of Jesus is wholly impracticable as a basis for international relations.

<sup>1</sup> See Part I, Section: "War is Unchristian."

Some persons go further and say that the teaching of Jesus is not only impracticable for nations but wholly inapplicable. A former Chancellor of the University of Tübingen has written: "In short, the entire chapter of the duties of love, which is the chief doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the conduct of the state. A nation depends, not upon the love of others, but upon the love of self, upon the fostering and development of its own power and prosperity; and if we characterize this by the term 'egoism,'—a term indeed that is scarcely applicable—then egoism certainly is the foundation of all politics."

It is obvious to a casual observer that thus far even the so-called Christian nations have made little effort to conduct their relations with each other on a basis of the teaching and spirit of Jesus. The result is tragically evident: misunderstanding, fear, suspicion, enmity, excessive nationalism, greedy imperialism, militarism and periodic wars. There can be only one end to a continuation of these attitudes and practices: universal destruction and chaos. The fact is incontrovertible that the manner of life which has hitherto been followed by the nations is impracticable and disastrous. In the light of this conclusion, let us face the question: Is Jesus' way of life practicable for nations? One way to gain light upon this question is to ask: What are the greatest needs of the nations at this hour? Surely all would agree that the following must be included: (1) more goodwill and less hatred; (2) more unselfishness and less greed; (3) more co-operation and less rivalry; (4) more unity and less artificial cleavage; (5) more confidence in non-violent agencies of justice and less dependence upon military force; (6) more faith in each other and less fear. Are not the attitudes and practices which are most desperately needed by the nations—goodwill, unselfishness, co-operation, unity, trust in spiritual forces, faith in men—the very ones which are inherent in Jesus' way of life? Is it not true that only by incorporating these characteristics into the life of the nations can modern civilization be saved from destruction? Are we not justified in saying that Jesus' way of life is the *only* practicable way for the nations to secure peace, freedom and justice?

36. *What should a Christian in Belgium or France have done in 1914?*

He should have resolutely followed Jesus' way of life; that is, he should have refrained from hatred and retaliation.

tion and should have sought to overcome evil by doing good, maintaining an attitude of unfaltering goodwill and using his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of showing love toward his enemies. Each Christian, whether he was a peasant in the line of German advance, a mayor of a town, or an official of the Government, should have decided for himself the most effective way to convince the invaders that he had no hatred toward them. What would have been the result if any considerable number of Belgians or Frenchmen should have done this? Would such a course have stopped the Germans? Almost certainly not. They would probably have overrun great sections, a few innocent people would have been killed, and there would have been at least temporary loss of political freedom. But is it not true that armed resistance resulted in the death of multitudes, the violation of many innocent women, four years of military occupation and unspeakable brutality and tyranny? Moreover, not only did armed resistance fail to protect the helpless, it failed to remove the menace of militarism but spread its deadly poison more widely throughout the world. Resistance of the invader by aggressive goodwill would not have prevented some loss of life and temporary oppression, but is it conceivable that the Germans would have slaughtered a million Belgians or Frenchmen in cold blood.<sup>1</sup>

But how could aggressive goodwill have freed the soil of German invaders? By convincing the German people that they had no reason to fear invasion of their own land, and thereby depriving the militarists of their support and driving them out of control of the government. At this point we should remind ourselves again that a great majority of the German people thought they were fighting in self-defense.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium during the period of the German occupation, says: "These wholesale massacres followed immediately upon some reverse which the Germans had sustained." "This happened so many times and so precisely in the same way that its significance cannot be avoided. But there is a striking corollary to all this. In all those regions where the Germans could pass without resistance from the Belgian or French or English troops, there were no massacres and no incendiarism in the grand style; there were many isolated cases of individual outrage and atrocity, of course, but no systematically organized annihilation of cities, no massacre of populations." "Belgium Under the German Occupation," pp. 152, 153.

<sup>2</sup> A British writer in the Edinburgh Review, in April, 1913, said: "When we consider the situation of Germany, wedged between two great military powers, one far superior to herself in numbers and territory, the other with a military organization almost equal to her own, we find it easy to understand the nervousness which has caused her to strengthen her defences even on this enormous scale." While in 1908 Mr. Lloyd George said: "I want our friends, who think that because Germany is a little frightened, she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances. See Questions No. 10 and No. 15. See also "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," pp. 26-28 (paper edition).

They believed that the military alliance of Russia and France was for the purpose of destroying or crippling Germany. If the fears of the German people could have been removed by acts of goodwill on the part of surrounding peoples, I believe they would have refused to support the armed occupation of Belgian or French soil, but would have driven the militarists from power and ended the military occupation. How long would this have required? We can only conjecture. But we should remember that in 1912 the anti-militarists, the Social Democrats, polled more than four million votes and elected a larger number of delegates to the Reichstag than any other party and that it was an open question as to how long the militarists could maintain control, in spite of skillful and extensive propaganda for the purpose of creating fear and hatred of France and Russia.<sup>1</sup> When the victory had already been almost won from within, how much goodwill from without would it have required to turn the scales against the militarists?

The method of armed resistance resulted in the death of 26 million people and well-nigh wrecked a continent. Could the method of resistance by active goodwill have possibly been a more ghastly failure? If such resistance could have removed the fears of the German people and deprived militarism of its support from within, would we not be immeasurably nearer a warless world? Is it not time that we turned away from armed force and put our trust in non-military means of defence?

<sup>1</sup> The vote of the Social Democrats increased from 312,000 in 1881, to 2,107,076 in 1898, and 4,250,329 in 1912; while its representation in the Reichstag was as follows: 1871—1; 1890—35; 1903—81; 1912—110. The 110 members elected in 1912 was a larger number than had been elected by any German party for more than thirty years. Notwithstanding the fact that there were nine parties in the 1912 election, the Social Democrats polled 35 per cent of the total vote. (See J. Ellis Barker, "Modern Germany," p. 298, and F. K. Kruger, "Government and Politics of the German Empire," p. 234).

Concerning the opposition to army and navy bills, Prince Von Bulow, for many years the German Chancellor, says: "In the end we certainly succeeded in obtaining majorities of the middle classes for all these Armament Bills. But their acceptance was nearly always the result of difficult negotiations, and often of inconvenient compromises. We were very far from being able to count on sure and substantial national majorities for our legitimate and reasonable Armament Bills. More than once the decision hung in the balance." "Imperial Germany," p. 216, 217.

The following words are taken from the Social Democrats' "Official Handbook for German Voters": "The God of Christians is not a German, French, Russian, or English God, but a God of all men, an international God. God is the God of love and of peace, and therefore it borders upon blasphemy that the priests of different Christian nations invoke this God of love to give victory to their nation in the general slaughter. It is equally blasphemous if the priest of one nation prays the God of all nations for a victory over another nation." (Barker, p. 306.)

See Question No. 10.

37. *What should a Christian in the United States do if our soil is actually invaded by a foreign army?*

It must be admitted that such an event is exceedingly unlikely. It is usually assumed that if it did occur only two alternatives would be open to us: (1) to resist the invader with an army and navy; (2) to lie down and do nothing. But surely there is a third possibility: resist the invaders by active goodwill expressed through appropriate channels. This would necessitate the refusal to retaliate with evil for evil and the taking seriously of Jesus' challenge to love one's enemies. Just what this would mean in the way of a specific program would vary with individuals, depending upon the actual situation with which they were confronted. Every individual should use his best intelligence in choosing ways and means of manifesting goodwill toward his enemies. What would be the probable result of such a procedure? Would it be effective in driving out the invaders. Probably not immediately. Then how would we ever get rid of them? By convincing the rank and file of people in the nation from which they come of our goodwill and in that way deprive the invaders of support from their home base. What would happen in the meantime? Some people might get killed and others would undoubtedly have to suffer humiliation. No method can guarantee us against such affliction. Any plan of dealing with invaders requires courage, patience and sacrificial devotion. These qualities are always manifested to a marked degree by soldiers. Can there be any doubt that justice and freedom would be secured more certainly if these same virtues were displayed by men and women armed only with spiritual weapons? Is not love more powerful than hatred? Do we not believe that the cross is mightier than the sword? To scoff at this method of resistance as visionary idealism is in reality to reflect upon the sanity and effectiveness of Jesus' own method.<sup>1</sup>

38. *What would happen if the churches of America should unequivocally renounce war as sin and should refuse utterly to sanction or support it again?*

It is well to remind ourselves that this question refers to the war system, not to the use of force or the exercise of police power. What would happen if the churches should abandon the war system? What would be the effects upon (1) the rank and file of our own citizens, (2) our govern-

<sup>1</sup> See Questions No. 15, No. 33 and No. 34.

ment, (3) the peoples of other lands? With regard to the first group, there would undoubtedly be some people who would regard such action as cowardly and unpatriotic and who would turn in disgust from the churches and refuse to support them. Another and probably a much more vital group, who had previously refrained from active participation in the life of the churches, would see in such action evidence of a new determination to take Jesus seriously, and would respond eagerly to such a challenge. Can there be any doubt that the abandoning of war by the churches would greatly increase the vitality and enthusiasm of all their efforts?

(2) Such action would greatly strengthen the hands of those officials in Washington who are seeking to substitute international agencies of justice for violence, and would undoubtedly result in less military and naval preparedness and less dependence upon the war system. As a matter of fact, the members of the churches hold the balance of political power in the United States. If they are sufficiently in earnest they can elect representatives who will enact into legislation any policy to which they are resolutely committed. No government in Washington would dare to advocate a policy to which the churches were unitedly and vigorously opposed. Therefore, they have a great opportunity and a heavy responsibility in this whole matter. Persons in official positions find it difficult to maintain freedom of thought and action and easily fall into deep ruts of tradition. On this question of the war system they need to be jolted by drastic action on the part of the churches.

(3) The abandoning of the war system by the churches in the United States would undoubtedly create a thrill of hope and enthusiasm in the hearts of common people around the earth. Especially would this be so if simultaneously our churches would demand emphatically that our government co-operate enthusiastically with other nations in creating and strengthening appropriate agencies of international justice. The vigorous advocacy of this two-fold policy by our churches would enormously strengthen the efforts of the churches in other lands toward the same ends. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in many countries a powerful organized labor movement is resolutely committed to oppose war.

What would happen if the churches of the United States should induce our government to make the following propo-

sition to the nations of the earth: That all armies and navies should be reduced 20 per cent each year for the next four years, and that on the first day of January, 1930, all war, offensive and defensive, should be declared illegal and criminal and the whole war system abandoned? If at the same time our government should announce its eagerness to co-operate to the limit with other nations in creating effective international agencies of justice and security, what reception would this two-fold announcement receive? The militarists and reactionaries everywhere would undoubtedly consider it a Utopian dream or utter nonsense. But what about the peoples of the earth who are desperately sick of war and long passionately for its abolition, what would be their response? Is there any doubt that they would acclaim the idea with enthusiasm and would insist upon appropriate action by their various governments? In what country are the militarists sufficiently well entrenched to withstand the tidal wave of sentiment for the outlawry of war which would be created by such a bold offer on the part of a major power? Is not such a dramatic move the very thing that is needed to arouse the peoples of the various nations and to jolt statesmen out of old ruts and compel them to abandon the war system and substitute international agencies of justice and security?

39. *What are the churches now saying concerning the war system?*

Everywhere churches and religious bodies—local, district, state, national, denominational and interdenominational—are going on record in various resolutions concerning war. The following quotations indicate the variety of these resolutions: The Blue Valley (Nebraska) Association of Congregational Churches adopted this resolution: "Whereas, we believe that war is the world's chief collective sin, directly contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, be it resolved that we \*\* declare our opposition to the whole war system and our inability to support future wars or add to them the sanction of the Christian religion." The ministerial union of Los Angeles, California, adopted the following declaration against war: "1. Modern warfare is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus. 2. The church as the body of Christ cannot sanction war, and calls upon our government to outlaw it. 3. A member of the church in his personal attitude toward war is free to follow the

dictates of his own conscience. 4. The church forbids her pastors and teachers as officials to promote, bless, or approve war. 5. The church refuses to use of her resources in the interest of war. 6. Any punishment for conscientious abstinence from war or outspoken objection to war is repugnant to religion, to morality, and to the spirit of our constitutional liberties." The Chicago Federation of Churches, representing 650 churches and 15 denominations, passed a resolution which contains these words: "In humble penitence for past mistakes and sincere repentance for our want of faith in and devotion to the ideals of the Kingdom of God, and affirming our unfailing belief in the peaceful method of settling all international disputes, we declare ourselves as unalterably opposed to war, and the entire war system, and affirm our purpose to lead our people in a crusade for a warless world." Over 500 delegates at the Indianapolis Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement voted for the following proposition: "We believe that henceforth war is an utter denial of Jesus' way of life, ineffective as a means of settling differences between nations; therefore, we declare our resolve not to sanction or participate directly in any future war."

The Methodist Federation for Social Service is on record in the following words: "We recognize and accept the peculiar responsibility of the church to utter moral judgment concerning the nature of war. We therefore declare that war is wrong. It is contrary to the spirit and purpose of Jesus. Whatever may be true concerning the past, present experience demonstrates that in the modern world, war is unable to achieve the great moral aims of justice, fellowship and peace. We hold that war and the war system constitute the world's chief collective sin. Consequently in our collective capacity as a church we can give it neither our blessing nor our aid nor permit our organization to be used for its promotion." The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield adopted the report of a special committee which contains these words: "We are determined to outlaw the whole war system. \*\* Governments which ignore the Christian conscience of men in time of peace, cannot justly claim the lives of men in time of war. \*\* We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance, and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us." Twenty of the most influential ministers of the Disciples of Christ,

from fifteen states and representing all shades of theological opinion, recently sent a letter to all Disciple ministers in the United States, containing these words: "We feel impelled to express the strong conviction that the churches should not sanction or support any future war."<sup>1</sup> The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Executive Committee, has declared: "This war-system . . . is the world's chief collective sin. . . . We are convinced that the whole war system of the nations is unnecessary and unchristian. . . . War should be outlawed by international law." The great conference at Birmingham, England, known as "Copec"—The Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship—declared: "That all war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ. That the Christian Churches should unreservedly condemn and refuse to support in any way a war waged before the matter in dispute has been submitted to an arbitral tribunal, or in defiance of the decision of such a tribunal."

There is a considerable body of evidence to indicate that the churches everywhere are coming nearer and nearer to the position which has long been held by the Society of Friends. In 1660 the Quakers declared: "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world." In 1804 and again in 1854 the Quakers declared: "We feel bound explicitly to avow our continued unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of His Gospel; and that no plea of necessity or of policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe unto Him who hath said, 'Love your enemies.'"

## VI. THE CITIZEN AND WAR

### 40. *Is loyalty to country the highest of all loyalties?*

Every man has three major loyalties: to family, to country, to God and humanity. And any true man is willing to die on behalf of any one of these loyalties. Upon this point

<sup>1</sup> In response to this letter, about 1,300 Disciple ministers have signed the following declaration: "I desire to express the strong conviction that the churches should not sanction or support any future war."

we are all agreed. Any differences of opinion arise as to the relative importance of these three loyalties. What shall we do in the event of a conflict between any two of them? Is loyalty to family above loyalty to country and to God? Is loyalty to country above loyalty to family and to God? Is loyalty to God above the loyalty to family and to country? My own opinion is this: I believe that loyalty to country is a higher loyalty than loyalty to family, and that loyalty to God and humanity is a higher loyalty than to family or to country. If a man is confronted with the alternative of betraying his country and causing great damage to the larger group or seeing his family suffer, he should refuse to betray country. That is to say, while recognizing the very heavy obligation resting upon every man to protect his family, he is not justified in saving their lives at the expense of many more lives of the larger group. Likewise, while recognizing the serious obligation to be loyal to one's country, if a man is confronted with a situation where in order to obey the laws of his country he must be disloyal to God and humanity, he is under supreme obligation to disobey such laws. If loyalty to God is not above all other loyalties, then vital religion is impossible.

Long ago Jesus recognized the possible conflict in loyalties and said: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." And on another occasion he said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Paul believed very strongly in the state and went so far as to say: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Did Paul mean that the citizen must always obey the state? Most emphatically not, if we are to interpret his teaching in the light of his own actions. Again and again he refused to obey the rulers of his day and frequently was put in jail for his disobedience. The early disciples were constantly confronted with this question of loyalty to country and loyalty to God. They settled the matter and they settled it right when Peter, speaking on their behalf, said in reply to a command from the authorities: "We must obey God rather than men."

41. *Is it justifiable for a citizen, on grounds of conscience, to refuse to take an active part in war?*

This question brings us face to face with the relative authority of the state and the individual conscience. For many centuries a great struggle has been waged around this issue. Up until our entrance into the World War it was generally assumed in the United States that this battle had been won by conscience. The first amendment to our Constitution contains this provision: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Most of the states declare that it is the privilege of "every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Nineteen states declare that "no human authority ought to control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience." Nine states provide that "no person may be molested in person or estate on account of religion."

And yet it should be pointed out that the Supreme Court has on several occasions, notably in the case of the Mormons, denied the absolute right of the individual conscience. The fact of the matter is that we find ourselves between the two horns of a dilemma. If the individual has an unqualified right of conscience then we are in danger of chaos and anarchy. On the other hand, it is obvious that if the state is absolutely sovereign in all realms then an external authority is substituted for the individual conscience, and vital religion becomes impossible for those persons who disagree with the authorities on moral issues. Confronted as we are with the danger of anarchy on the one hand and tyranny on the other, what shall we do? My own opinion concerning this great issue may be summarized briefly as follows: I recognize the necessity of government and believe in obedience to law—even those laws which are disliked and which are regarded as unwise—except in the case of a law which if obeyed would necessitate a supreme violation of conscience and the denial of one's deepest religious convictions. There are differences of opinion as to whether it is ever right or expedient for the state to compel a citizen to violate his religious convictions concerning a major issue, but it seems clear that in refusing to obey such a law the individual must be prepared to take the consequences. For me to sanction or participate in war would mean the adoption of attitudes and practices which I regard as an absolute repudiation of Jesus' way of life. I do not

believe that a man can ever serve his country or humanity most effectively by abandoning that way of life. In proportion as a citizen really follows Jesus he becomes a true servant of his country. Therefore, I feel under obligation to disobey any law that would compel me to engage in war and thus deny my Lord and betray humanity.<sup>1</sup>

42. *If a citizen is justified in disobeying the command of the state to engage in war, is he not also justified in disobeying the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act?*

If any citizen is strongly convinced that the observance of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act violates the will of God for his life then he should come openly to the authorities and say: "My conscience and religion keep me from obeying the Volstead Act; I am impelled to continue the purchase or sale of intoxicating liquor; I am willing to suffer the consequences of disobeying the law and am ready to go to prison." If he does not take this public action but continues to break the law secretly, he must be classified with the draft-evader or deserter, who avoids military service by hiding himself or fleeing from the country. It is this secret disobedience that leads to general lawlessness and widespread disrespect for the constituted authorities. If the men to whom the refusal to obey the Volstead Act is a matter of conscience are willing to declare themselves publicly and take the consequences, would their action endanger government and due process of law? As a matter of fact, it is perfectly well known that of the total number of persons who violate the Volstead Act, the vast majority do so because of selfish appetite, while only a small fraction do so because of a moral conviction.

43. *Is it treason to refuse to engage in war?*

The answer to this question depends upon the answers we give to several others. Is it treason for a citizen to follow Jesus in refusing to use the weapons of war? Is it treason to take seriously Jesus' challenge: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you," and to follow his way of life resolutely at all times and under all circumstances? Is it treason to believe that security and justice can more adequately be maintained by abandoning

<sup>1</sup> See Part I, Section: "Freedom of Conscience."

armies and navies and depending entirely upon spiritual weapons and organized goodwill? Is it treason to obey God rather than men? If it is treason to refuse to engage in war, why did our government provide for the exemption of Quakers and members of similar religious bodies from active military service? How can it be treason for certain citizens to refuse on grounds of religion to engage in war when such exemption has already been granted to many other citizens?

44. *What right has a citizen who enjoys the blessings of his country to refuse to fight in the hour of danger?*

It is obvious that every citizen owes a very heavy debt to his country. Many of the values which he cherishes most highly have been achieved and preserved by the orderly processes of government. It goes without saying, therefore, that a citizen is under heavy obligation to serve his country in the hour of need. For a loyal citizen there is no possible escape from this duty to serve country. The only legitimate difference of opinion has to do with *methods* of serving one's country. Is there any excuse for refusing to bear arms in defense of country? My own opinion is that there are good reasons—intellectual, patriotic and religious—for refusing to use military weapons. If the evidence is conclusive that war is now futile, and may be suicidal if used again on a great scale, that rather than being the lesser of two evils it is a combination of the major evils of our day, that it is the chief source of fear, suspicion and hatred between the nations and is self-perpetuating in its very nature, that it is inherently and essentially a supreme violation of Jesus' way of life, that it could be prevented by substituting orderly processes of justice and organized public opinion—if these things are true, then surely common sense, patriotic devotion and loyalty to Jesus all demand that the citizen should refuse to use weapons which are so terribly destructive of supreme values and which are self-defeating in their very nature. A homely illustration may shed light upon this question. Suppose that six men are walking along a country road and suddenly see a house in flames. Naturally they rush to put the fire out. They seize several buckets filled, as they suppose, with water and begin to throw the contents on the fire. One man, noticing that the buckets do not contain water but oil, refuses to empty his bucket on the fire. The other men begin to

upbraid him for refusing to aid them. The man replies that fire cannot be put out with oil and begins to search about for other means of extinguishing the blaze. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence to indicate that the use of military weapons in seeking to overcome armed aggressors is merely to pour oil on the fire which is destroying the nations. The refusal to use the weapons of war is not, however, an excuse for indifference and idleness on the part of any citizen. He is under obligation to take up weapons which he believes will be effective against the enemies of his country and must reveal the same courage and sacrificial devotion that is demanded of soldiers. Nothing less than the willingness to die with spiritual weapons in his hands is an adequate substitute for military service.

*45. Is a student justified in refusing to participate in compulsory military training?*

I cannot answer this question for any other person. I can only say that if I were a student in secondary school or college and held my present convictions concerning the whole war system, I would be compelled to refuse to participate in military training and would be willing to take the consequences of such a refusal. In giving this answer I am assuming that the military training under discussion is under the war department and is a part of the war system.

*46. What attitude should a Christian take toward military training camps?*

Such camps offer many advantages, including physical exercise, recreation, discipline, social companionship, training in citizenship, etc. Nevertheless, I am wholly opposed to military camps which are conducted under the auspices of the war department for the following reasons: (1) They are officially a part of the war system; (2) they magnify the place of armed force as a means of maintaining security and justice and minimize the value of non-violent means of settling disputes between nations; that is to say, they spread the war philosophy; (3) the good features of such camps may easily be secured in other ways.

*47. What is the value of going on record now as refusing to sanction or participate in any future war?*

If a person is strongly convinced that henceforth war is tragically ineffective and utterly unchristian, why should he declare publicly that he does not intend to engage in or

actively support any future war? It seems to me that there are four good reasons for such action. (1) Such a step will fortify a person and help him to stand fast if a war emergency arises. If he has not reached a definite decision concerning the use of the weapons of war prior to such an emergency, it will be immeasurably more difficult for him to think clearly and act according to his deepest convictions. In that hour propaganda and passion are likely to lead to the adoption of the weapons of violence unless a person has already irrevocably committed himself against the war method of dealing with such a crisis. (2) A public declaration of purpose very frequently has a powerful influence upon the person taking such action. Every minister can tell of persons whose lives have been profoundly affected by the very act of taking a public stand for Christ. The person who makes a public declaration that he cannot sanction or support any future war is likely to have his determination to end war greatly strengthened and his enthusiasm kindled for the crusade to prevent war. (3) Such action will help to make clear the real issues involved and thereby affect public opinion. Practically all people believe in peace and abhor war, that is to say, they are against war in general, while a considerable majority have always been highly in favor of every war that has been waged. The task before us is the creating of public opinion not only against war in general but also against each particular war, indeed, against the whole war system. The person who makes a clean break with the war system helps to sharpen the issue and to aid in the creation of sound public opinion. (4) If any considerable number of men should take such action the effect upon government officials would be very powerful and would greatly strengthen their desire and determination to discover and make use of non-violent means of settling differences between nations.

*48. If only a small percentage of citizens were willing to take the position of conscientious objectors in the event of war, what good would it accomplish for a minority to do so?*

The chief value of such action is the example set by men who are willing to follow at any cost what they regard as the will of God and who are not deterred even by disgrace and imprisonment. The immediate visible effects of the action of the conscientious objectors may seem negligible,

but it is out of similar action by small groups throughout human history that great social reforms have arisen. What good did it do for the early disciples to die in the arena with wild beasts rather than deny their Lord? What good did it do for Savonarola and Huss to die for their convictions? What good did it do for the early abolitionists to suffer imprisonment and mob violence because of their refusal to compromise with or keep silent concerning slavery? Indeed, what good did it do for Jesus to go to the cross? Every follower of Jesus is under obligation to obey the will of God regardless of where it leads and what it costs, and regardless also of the blindness and wickedness of those about him. There is no excuse for a Christian to refuse to follow the best light he has.

49. *Is it not foolish and unpatriotic to pledge one's self now not to support any future war without waiting for full information at the time of the emergency?*

If the decision depended upon the *purpose* or objective of a future war, obviously an intelligent judgment could not be reached prior to the emergency. A decision not to engage in any future war may be reached, however, regardless of the end in view. That is to say, the decision we are discussing concerns *means* of attempting to reach a desired end. It is admitted that the end in view in a possible war of the future may be very noble. And yet I am thoroughly convinced that modern war weapons and methods cannot be used successfully in achieving a holy end. If a person believes, in the light of the tragic experience of the past decade and in view of the essential nature of modern war, that war is futile, suicidal and unchristian, why should he not go on record now as refusing to be a party to the destruction of civilization? *The end in view does not determine the effectiveness or failure of war as a means of reaching a desired goal.* Upon this question of the futility of the war method an enormous mass of evidence is already at hand.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, more light is now available than would be true in an hour of propaganda and passion. We are not making a decision concerning an end but concerning a method.

50. *Is it not cowardly to refuse to use military weapons in defense of country and humanity?*

It is certainly true that a man may refuse to engage in war through cowardice. This has been true of many draft-

<sup>1</sup> See Part I, Section: "War is Wrong in its Results."

ers. It is equally certain, however, that one may refuse to use war weapons and yet have a high sense of duty. Does it not require great bravery to stand by one's religious convictions in the face of persecution, imprisonment and execution? Is it not true that the heroism of some conscientious objectors was as genuine as that of any soldier? Does it require less courage to resist armed aggressors with non-violent weapons and organized goodwill than with military weapons? Did Jesus reveal less courage than the Zealots? The fact of the matter is, security and justice cannot be achieved without courage and sacrifice, regardless of the weapons used. If peace and freedom are to be secured by the means outlined herein—the creation of effective agencies of international justice, the removal or adequate treatment of the causes of war, the creation of the international mind and heart, the outlawry of war, and the abandonment of the whole war system—men and women must be enlisted who will dedicate time, energy, talents and life to this greatest of modern crusades, with the same faith in their cause and weapons, the same high courage, the same sacrificial devotion and willingness to lay down life, which characterize the soldier at his best. Here is to be found the genuine moral equivalent of war.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is an it. of persons who are seeking uncompromi. Christ's principles in the present world.

Without wishing to bind themselves to an of words, they would state their general agreement on the following points:

That the Love revealed in Christ profoundly reverences personality; strives to create an order of society which suffers no individual to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, but assures to each the means of development for his highest usefulness; seeks reconciliation between man and man, nation and nation, race and race; deepens and enriches devotion to home, to church, and to country, and harmonizes all these loyalties in dedication of life to humanity and to the universal Kingdom of Christ.

That since war inevitably involves violation of these principles and disregard of the supreme value of personality, we find ourselves unable to engage in it; and, since the existing organization of society engenders motives and methods which violate these principles and hinder the development of character into the likeness of Christ, we are convinced that loyalty to Him and to humanity calls us to seek with others such fundamental changes in the spirit of men and in the structure of the social order as shall make possible the full expression of Love in personal, social, industrial, national and international life.

Further information will gladly be sent upon request. Communications in the United States may be addressed to The Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 396 Broadway, New York. The International office is at 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C. 1.

## Signs of the Times - - -

By KIRBY PAGE

*Editor's Note: We consider it an honor to present Dr. Page to our readers. He is a writer and speaker of more than national repute. The opinions which he here expresses are his own, and are not necessarily to be considered as representing the opinions of the publisher or the editors.*

### 240 Ministers Refuse to Fight

At an impressive service in the famous Riverside Church in New York City, 240 clergymen simultaneously pledged themselves not to support any future war. Included in this number were many of the outstanding ministers and rabbis of the city. Their covenant of peace reads: "In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction I therefore renounce war, and never will support another."

### Church Elders Renounce War

After mature consideration the Elders of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York City unanimously adopted the following expression of their convictions: "We hereby record our belief that war is anti-Christian and that the goal for our nation and all nations should be complete disarmament." The Elders then requested the pastor, Dr. George A. Buttrick, to transmit the resolution to every member of the church with the suggestion that personal concurrence or rejection be sent in. The number expressing approval was 761; 61 expressed qualified approval; 96 disapproved; 21 were qualifiedly opposed, and 10 expressed a neutral position.

Thus it is apparent that the pacifist movement is rapidly gaining strength in the churches. Surely it is high time for Christians to proclaim their abhorrence and repudiation of mass slaughter. In every city in the land ministers should individually and collectively proclaim their refusal to sanction or participate in any future war, and local congregations should express themselves corporately against the sin of war.

### Warning Against Vigilantes

The increasing practice of so-called patriotic groups to take the law into their own hands and resort to violent action in dealing with "reds" was vigorously condemned in a statement recently signed by 250 outstanding ministers, priests and rabbis. These 250 distinguished leaders of religion said: "We unite in condemning as un-American what appears to be an organized and widespread effort to induce both Congress and the several States to pass laws designed further to restrict free speech, free assemblage and a free press. . . . Our forefathers felt that the only safeguard to liberty for all was freedom of expression. This is the essence of Americanism. While the proposed measures are at present ostensibly aimed at extremists, the recent experience of other countries shows that once the civil liberty of the most extreme group has been removed, the rights of organized labor, of liberals and of the churches have gone down in rapid succession. . . . Still more strongly do we condemn those outbursts of violence and lawless suppression of civil liberty by organized vigilantes and armed mobs which have occurred in a number of our States. Such demonstrations are a disgrace to our country and a denial of the very patriotism

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## Church Membership - - -

THE strength of the church lies in her supernatural elements, her sure foundations, her divine cornerstone, her resident spirits. The weakness of the church lies in her human elements. The church is weak in proportion as her membership is weak, uninformed, insincere or derelict in the performance of duty. There are four groups of members who are largely responsible for the weakness of the church.

The first group is composed of the non-attending members. They are found in every congregation, and they form a very considerable group. Whatever explanation or apology may be offered for this situation, the fact remains that the influence of the church suffers heavily at the hands of its non-attending members. Little headway can be made with a membership that takes church attendance lightly.

The second group is made up of the uninformed members. The Christian life begins with a spiritual impulse, a movement of life toward God. When and where and how it begins is not always discoverable. It is perfectly plain, however, that when a life has been "born again," its growth can be sustained and matured only through knowledge and experience. An uninformed Christian will become a weak and sickly Christian, and an uninformed church a weak and sickly church. The appeal of the church falls dead on dull minds that have neither knowledge nor vision.

Another group which weakens the church is that of the non-supporting members. A church is strong or feeble, not primarily in proportion to its enrolled membership, but in proportion to its supporting membership. The strength of a church is in the number of its "active" members, those who invest time, thought, energy and money in its maintenance. The weakness of a church is in the number of its inactive members. When is a member not a member? Answer —when he is a non-supporting member.

The fourth group which drags heavily on the church includes the inconsistent members. Not always, but more often than not, when a man wishes to find an excuse for holding himself aloof from the church, he points his finger at the poorest specimen of church membership he can find, and says, "That individual blocks the door for me. I cannot get by him." As a rule this is only an excuse, and a poor one at that. We must acknowledge that pretenders to the Christian life do weaken the timbers of the church. He who professes with the lip and fails to practice with the life, who is a believer on Sunday and an infidel on Monday, who praises the name of God in the meeting place and profanes His name in the market place, is a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense. The religion of Christ is fearfully handicapped by those whose inconsistencies speak so loudly that the world cannot hear what the church says.

"Like a mighty army moves the church of God," but unlike a "mighty army" the church is made up entirely of volunteers who are permitted to do pretty much as they please. There are no conscripts, slackers are never disciplined, sleepers are never court-martialed, traitors are never shot, disobedience is seldom a serious offense. In so far as the church is a human institution, its strength depends upon those elemental human virtues without which no institution can endure. All the promises of God are hers, but only in proportion as her membership exemplifies sincerity, consistency, fidelity and loyalty.—*Selected*.

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in whose name these acts have often been committed."

### Too Much Money

An editorial in the latest issue of *Banking*, the journal of the American Bankers' Association, is headed: "Too Much Money." A headline in the *New York Times* runs: "Bank Profits Ebb As Funds Pile Up." Another headline goes: "State Sells Notes at 3½% Low Record." On May 2 the State of New York borrowed 40 million dollars for nearly ten months at less than one-half of one per cent. per year, "the lowest interest cost to the State in its financial history." No wonder, therefore, that a contemporary writer says: "Bankers have begun to consider what may be the consequences of a prolonged period of unemployed bank funds and unremunerative returns on such funds as can find employment."

### Not Enough Money

Yet twenty million Americans and more are living in homes that are being supported by Federal relief funds, and at least half of the people in this land lack purchasing power with which to provide the requirements of a health-and-decency standard of living. The United States Department of Commerce, after a survey of 61 cities in 48 States, announces that the average incomes of *families*, not individuals, was found to be \$1062. Here is to be found the explanation of the continued economic depression. The mass of people lack purchasing power with which to buy back the goods and commodities produced. Thus production is curtailed, employment reduced, purchasing power still further diminished, and on and on around the vicious circle. So long as this state of affairs prevails it is a waste of time to talk about the potential demand for replacements, improvements and expan-

sion of industrial equipment, as does the Machinery and Allied Products Institute in its estimate that this potential demand reaches a total of 19 billion dollars. Surely, if purchasing power were present in the hands of the people! But not unless!

### Killing the Goose

In a widely publicized radio address, Mr. Samuel Untermeyer referred to high income taxes as a practice which is likely to "kill the goose that lays the golden egg," because it causes rich investors to put their money in tax-exempt government bonds rather than in productive industry. He then says: "It is that situation that largely explains the inability of the great banks to find use for their money in business. Until these conditions are corrected idle money will continue to accumulate in the banks, and investments in tax-exempt securities will increase, without any constitutional means of stemming the tide." The remedy being advocated in financial circles is lower income taxes and higher sales taxes. This double procedure, if followed, would result in further congestion of money in the hands of the rich and diminished purchasing power in the hands of the people, with still further accumulations of idle dollars and longer lines of idle men. How long, oh, how long, will it take American citizens to realize that there can be no economic health until rapid strides are made toward equality of purchasing power. Thus the imperatives of economics point toward the equality of brotherhood long dominated by religion.



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## Pleasure in the Graveyard

### Germantown Churchyard Reveals the Deaths of Many Prominent Citizens

From the New York Sun, Saturday, September 29, 1934.

(Continued from May)



A broken stone lists the initials of three children, nothing more. One of the very oldest stones is the marker for a baby who was born in 1796 and died in 1797. But there are not many children's stones. In fact, one is impressed with the longevity of the members of Market Square Church. One Joseph Boucher, according to the inscription on his stone, served the church as an elder for forty years. Even war did not cut short the lives of others. Julian Grotts, born April, 1784, and a soldier in the War of 1812, did not die until 1875. Here, too, is buried William C. Sutter, the brother of John Augustus Sutter, on whose ranch gold was discovered in California.

#### Inquiries Sent

As the word has gone abroad of the tracing of records in this old graveyard, inquiries have come to Mr. Clair asking for information of relatives who were supposed to have been buried there.

One inquiry came from Augusta, Ga., to learn about the grave of Anna Peters, wife of Francis Shallus. Her stone was found under an extension of the church which had been built with an elevation to save the graves beneath, when the Bible class room was built in 1894. Inquiries are sometimes followed by visits, and the granddaughter of Francis Shallus, late of Market Square Church, came to visit the grave of her grandmother this last summer.

But the work of restoration has only begun. The ground has sunk, and there is the problem of filling in the graves and leveling. One plot inclosed by an iron fence has already been filled in by Mr. Clair. Two old iron chairs that belong to the Victorian period grace the plot with the dignity of their

age. A vault, beneath which are three graves, needs repairing badly. The great slab of stone that covered the vault has broken, and schoolboys in the past have been in the habit of lowering themselves into the ten-foot vault below.

A six-foot stone with an inscription of a mother and child who had died close to one another had sunk below the ground. The piece that was not broken off has been raised and stands in plain sight. Other stones that have tilted slightly have been brought back into line.

#### Many Graves Unmarked

There is a curious uniformity about the stones, though this was not a Friends' cemetery. Few of them are high. Some of the graves which are unmarked, Mr. Clair thinks, were those of people whose relatives could not afford the simple marker. Hence, a whole section of the burial ground is devoid of stones.

What Mr. Clair has done in cleaning up the churchyard has given courage to Henry W. Mace and his wife, neighbors, whose back door leads to the cemetery. At the back of the plot they have built a little rockery with stepping stones, stone steps and a garden. This would delight the heart of the antique hunter with originality. The gardeners have found an old carriage seat which they have set beside the rockery. On pleasant summer evenings they sit there reading the evening paper.

Sometimes from the organ in the church comes music played by Blanche Clair. Not the Chopin funeral march, but very likely the restful tones of Chopin's seventh prelude, to bless the serenity of this elegy in a city churchyard, where we would repeat with Longfellow of those who belong to a departed past:

"In the heart of the city they lie, unknown and unnoticed."



—If we walk in love we will not be a fighter  
—a go-getter, but a lover—a go-giver.  
We will be creatures of the warm heart.

# The Balkans Revisited

KIRBY PAGE

**T**WO and a quarter billion dollars annually would be the sum required if the United States had to pay reparation on the scale fixed for Bulgaria from 1934 onward. Our population is 23 times as great and our per capita income of \$750 is 12 times as large as that of Bulgaria. The sum of \$1,900,000 which the latter is compelled to pay this year appears quite negligible to Americans, but the comparable figure for the United States would be 525 millions.

An analysis of the current budget of Bulgaria reveals several of the reasons why many European countries are still in dire economic distress. The public debt, treaty obligations, and ministry of war consume nearly 49 per cent of the total budget. The regular and supplementary appropriations for agriculture amount to only one-seventh of this triple combination, in spite of the woefully backward state of its farming. The appropriations for the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Labor total only one-twenty-sixth of the sum squandered on war. If the United States spent on the same scale, relative to its population and income, the amount consumed by war payments would be over four billion dollars annually, or a sum equal to the total of our present Federal budget. Yet the Bulgarian army is far smaller than the armed forces of its neighbors and its military budget is only about eight million dollars, in spite of the fact that since conscription was made illegal by the peace treaty, it must give higher pay to its soldiers. The per capita income, however, is so low that even this relatively small expenditure places a crushing burden upon the whole country.

I have violated the canons of good journalism by beginning a travel article with statistical summaries. The reason is that war and its results constitute the most important fact about the Balkans. During the past few weeks I have revisited this region, after an interval of five years. In Belgrade and Sofia I talked with statesmen, financiers, publicists, educators, and religious leaders. In Sarajevo I stood on the spot where Gavrilo Princip assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne. No consideration of Balkan problems can be complete without taking into account the situation in Hungary. Although that country is not a part of the Balkans, much of its former territory is now embraced in two Balkan nations and its future is inextricably intertwined with that of its neighbors to the east and south. Budapest is at the same time a gayly beautiful and a sadly bereaved city.

Every aspect of the life of the people of the Balkan peninsula is profoundly affected by past wars and the

fear of future conflicts. Standards of living are distressingly low; agricultural methods are primitive; industry is poorly equipped and badly organized; capital for improvements and expansion is scarce; interest rates are high; education and cultural activities are handicapped by inadequate equipment and low salaries; in the victorious countries conscription imposes heavy burdens upon the population; even religion has become intensely nationalistic.

It would not be accurate, of course, to attribute all the ills of Southeastern Europe to war. The long period of oppression and exploitation under Turkish rule obviously accounts for much of the backwardness of this region. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole of the Balkan peninsula was embraced in the Turkish Empire. As late as 1856 only a miniature Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia had secured a precarious freedom. The vast proportion of the region still formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. Even after the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, one could travel from Western Bosnia, only a few hours from Trieste and other Adriatic ports, to a point far into the interior of Asia Minor without ever leaving Turkish soil.

Social progress, however, would have been greatly accelerated except for three wars in rapid succession since 1911; the First Balkan War, the Second Balkan War, and the World War. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the calamitous consequences of this trio of armed conflicts. Multitudes of soldiers and civilians perished, hundreds of thousands were left wounded and disabled, unspeakable atrocities were committed, populations were compelled to migrate, plague and pestilence ravaged the region, territories were devastated, harvests were destroyed or never planted, industries were demolished and disorganized, treasures were bankrupt and debts piled mountain high, bitter enmities were created, violent passions were released, paralyzing fears were aroused, and the demand for further warlike preparations was stimulated.

Under the circumstances, therefore, we should not be surprised to find economic distress and unsettled political conditions. Here in Sofia, where this article is being written, wages are pitifully low. Skilled artisans receive from 60 to 70 cents per day, unskilled workers from 35 to 45 cents. After deductions are made for unavoidable loss of time, the average monthly wage of a skilled worker is \$12 to \$14. Irregular employment in towns and cities is the rule rather than the exception. In Belgrade I saw some of the foulest

slums to be found anywhere in the world. In the worst sections large numbers of Gypsies are herded together in unbelievably small hovels, with only the vilest kind of sanitary arrangements.

Economic conditions among the peasants are even worse, as is evidenced by the constant influx of rural people into the cities. While much of the ground is fertile, holdings are usually very small, methods of tilling the soil are crude and primitive, modern agricultural machinery is almost wholly lacking, insufficient quantities of fertilizer are available, scientific seed selection has made little headway, most farms lack sufficient livestock, prices of agricultural products are low and the cost of manufactured goods is excessive, while adequate capital for operating expenses and improvements is possessed by only a small percentage of peasants. The rural situation in Bulgaria and in Greece has been greatly complicated by the refugee problem and the compulsory exchange of populations.

**POLITICAL** conditions in Southeastern Europe are alarmingly unstable. Internal politics in Jugoslavia and Roumania present many chaotic and dangerous aspects. In the former country the Croats are deeply embittered and only the king's iron dictatorship keeps the situation in hand. In its external relations the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes faces many perils. Across the narrow strip of the Adriatic are Rome and Mussolini; in Albania the Italians are steadily encroaching; the Salonica dispute with Greece remains unsettled; Bulgaria is unreconciled to the loss of the lion's share of Macedonia; border incidents along the Serbo-Bulgarian frontier constantly menace the peace; Hungary is fanning the flames of resentment and bitterness. Roumania likewise is in a state of internal and external instability. The Soviet Government hopes to regain Bessarabia, Hungary passionately desires the recovery of Transylvania, Bulgaria awaits the day when Dobrudja will be reclaimed.

Budapest probably feels her war losses more keenly than any other city in Europe. Territory which had been Hungarian for a thousand years was lost to neighbors who are regarded as culturally and politically inferior. A total of 72 per cent of her pre-war domain and 63 per cent of her pre-war population were taken away from Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon and awarded as follows: Transylvania to Roumania; Slovakia and Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia; Slavonia and Croatia to Jugoslavia; West Hungary to Austria; Fiume to Italy. Some three million Magyars are now living as minorities outside Hungary. The conviction is deeprooted in Budapest that the Hungarian land-owners in Transylvania were defrauded outrageously by Roumania. This controversy, known as the Hungarian optants question, has been before the League of Nations repeatedly.

No patriotic Hungarian is reconciled to the permanent acceptance of present conditions. Nowhere in Europe is there a livelier sense of injustice nor a more passionate determination to recover lost provinces. Everywhere one sees the bitter slogan, *Nem, Nem, Soha!* (No, No, Never!), on maps, post-cards, candy boxes, door-plates, table scarfs and numerous other places. Post-cards showing mutilated Hungary are widely sold. In the Square of Liberty in Budapest are four statues in memory of the unredeemed regions, with the Hungarian flag flying at half-mast. By official decree all school children are required to repeat the national creed twice each day:

I believe in one God,  
I believe in one Fatherland,  
I believe in one eternal justice,  
I believe in the resurrection of Hungary from  
the dead.

Amen!

Most Hungarians emphatically disclaim any intention of resorting to war on behalf of their lost kinsmen. They hope to secure a rectification of boundaries by peaceful negotiations, or to profit by some future international crisis. One well-informed and internationally-minded young Hungarian put the case to us in this way: "History proves that boundary lines are rarely permanent. Europe is now in an extremely unsettled condition. Each group of powers is seeking to strengthen its position. The time may come when concessions will be made to Hungary in order to secure her support or to avoid the possibility that she may join the opposite camp. We must continue, therefore, to make a nuisance of ourselves, so to speak, by maintaining an active propaganda for the recovery of our lost provinces. Then, too, a new alignment of the great powers may lead to a general war. And then . . ." —with a shrug of his shoulders he concluded, "and then—who knows?"

**S**OFIA likewise is the source of continuous agitation for a revision of the peace treaty. Most Bulgarians realize, of course, that by themselves they are helpless to recover lost territories or to acquire coveted regions. But, like the Hungarians, they hope some day to fish in troubled waters. In the eventuality of hostilities between Italy and Jugoslavia, their army of 50,000 might enable them to gain concessions from one side or the other. Two societies, one legal and the other revolutionary, are vigorously agitating for an autonomous Macedonia. For the present the Hungarians and the Bulgarians are helpless. But they are utterly unreconciled to their fate.

Nowhere is the fact more vividly realized than in Belgrade, Bucharest, Athens and Prague. The result is that the victors are even more alarmed and fearful.

than are the vanquished. We were impressed by the extraordinary number of soldiers on the streets of Belgrade and Sarajevo and at the various railway stations. To judge by appearances one might easily conclude that the outbreak of war was imminent, perhaps only a matter of hours. We were told that Jugoslavia could put a million men in the field within two weeks. In spite of the poverty of the country and the fact that conscription greatly reduces the cost of the army, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes last year spent more than 42 million dollars for military and naval purposes. This sum was 37 times the amount appropriated for commerce and industry, nearly nine times as much as for agriculture or public health, seven times as much as for public works, and nearly three times as much as for education. The capital of every victorious country in Eastern and Southern Europe is likewise crowded with troops and the budget of every winner of the war is heavily drained by current military expenditures.

WERE it not for one important fact, I would be of the opinion that the situation in this region is more ominous and alarming than it was in 1913. The new factor which makes war far less likely is the growth in prestige and power of the League of Nations and other international agencies and processes. More prior to 1914. Many new Alsace-Lorraines have been created, hatreds have been widened and deepened, fears have been intensified, and in many countries armaments have been enormously increased.

The Balkans are remote from the United States and not many of my fellow-countrymen are seriously con-

cerned with the course of events in this part of the world. But Americans are vitally affected by what happens here and if they were wise they would recognize the pressing need for coöperation with other nations in seeking solutions for the dangerous problems of this region. My experiences in Sarajevo helped me to understand more clearly than ever before the interdependence of the peoples of the whole world.

The first few hours in this ancient capital enable one to understand more clearly than ever before the polyglot character of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Here is the meeting place of East and West, of Islam and Christianity, of Middle Ages and 20th century. For four hundred years this region was ruled by the Turks. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 awarded the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria as a protectorate and in 1908 both were annexed outright by the latter, to the consternation of Russia and the Southern Slavs.

Sarajevo has more than 20,000 Moslems, only a small percentage of whom are Turks, the great majority being descendants of the Serbians who, centuries ago, adopted Islam in order to save their lives and property. The Christian Slavs of the Balkans ever since the Ottoman Empire began to crumble, had dreamed of and plotted for a unified nation under the protection of Holy Russia. It is common knowledge that the statesmen of the Muscovite Empire of the North had encouraged and assisted the revolutionary movement which aimed at the detachment and liberation of their kinsmen from Austrian and Hungarian rule.

I WANTED to stand on the spot where the young Serbian revolutionary, Gavrilo Princip, with the active assistance of Serbian military authorities and the connivance of Serbian statesmen, assassinated the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, on that fateful June 28th, 1914. I went to the corner where the first bomb missed its royal target and traced the course of the Archduke's automobile to the City Hall and back down the river bank until the chauffeur, making a fatal wrong turn, backed up and by an epoch-making coincidence came to a standstill in the narrow street only a few feet from where Princip was stationed. Two shots rang out and the royal couple fell fatally wounded. Within a few moments both were dead, but centuries will elapse before the last trace of the terrible consequences of that mad act is erased from the face of the earth.

As I stood there on the very corner, looking up at the memorial tablet which had been placed on the side of the nearest building, I was overwhelmed with the tragic irony of it all. What a commentary on the stupid blunders, the greedy ambitions, the passionate hatreds, the insane fears of statesmen and peoples



HUNGARY BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

(The diagonally shaded portions ten years ago were part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged in common to Austria and Hungary.) (American Review of Reviews.)

everywhere! How amazing a world situation in which two shots from the revolver of a mere boy, half-crazed with the emotions of super-patriotism, could summon tens of millions of armed men from all corners of the globe and produce the most awful catastrophe of history!

Professor Fay and other historians have proved conclusively that none of the governments wanted a world war in 1914. They stumbled and staggered over the precipice. If the present League of Nations had existed then and had been as strong as it is now, there is plenty of reason to believe the World War might have been averted. The pre-war anarchy between nations placed the peoples of the world at the mercy of a half-demented assassin who ignited a fire which will not die out for centuries. The League is still weak and inadequate, but year by year it is becoming the mightiest bulwark of peace. Without it, one may say with dogmatic certainty, the Balkan countries would fly at each other's throats within a decade. Peoples of the west should never forget that on two previous occasions isolated events in the Balkans led to general European wars. In the summer of 1875 a revolt in a remote village of Herzegovina eventually involved five powers in armed hostilities and led to the important Congress of Berlin. Thirty-nine years later in

the neighboring province of Bosnia a Serbian assassin again let loose the hounds of war.

One cannot be sure that the League is yet strong enough to cope with the most serious crisis which may arise. What would happen if the King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes should be murdered in Macedonia by a Bulgarian patriot, no one can say. The situation might again get out of hand if the King of Roumania visited Bessarabia and died there from a Communist bullet. But one thing is certain: if peace is preserved much of the credit must go to those statesmen who have created and strengthened the League and other international agencies of justice. The gaps in the Covenant need to be filled up and the last vestige of legality removed from war. But no pact renouncing war, no arbitration agreement, no international court—nor all combined—constitute an adequate substitute for the League, with its periodic conferences, its permanent secretariat, its machinery for collective decisions and common action in emergencies. Safety for the people of the United States will be found not in the effort to follow a policy of isolation, nor by exclusive reliance upon treaties outlawing war, nor merely by drastic reductions of armaments, but by enthusiastic coöperation with other nations to create both the will to peace and the machinery of peace.

## The Student Invasion of Europe

R. W. ABERNETHY

### PART II

THE thesis advanced in the first part of this paper was that in so far as the 20,000 young pupils from our American colleges and universities who go abroad each summer are more tourists than students, they do not differ much from ordinary tourists, and as such are helping to widen the gulf of misunderstanding and dislike between Europe and America. An attempt will be made in this final section to show how the few among the 20,000 whose attitude is more student than tourist can help bridge that gulf.

The distance from the traveler who is a tourist to the traveler who is a student is so great that we might negotiate it better if we examined a species in between these two extremes. This is the avid internationalist. There is a rapidly growing group in this country which believes that the solution of all problems lies in internationalism. It is unfortunate to see many young liberals, otherwise encouragingly sane, holding aloft this banner. I say unfortunate because a motley crew is there gathered. There are those who think that because internationalism is the panacea they must forthwith cultivate it. They accordingly set about making

themselves over into internationalists, not realizing that internationalism like character cannot be directly inculcated. It is a by-product in the form of an attitude or spirit that emerges from having met a succession of life situations with tolerance, sympathy, intelligence, and good will. These who go chasing internationalism as an abstract ideal are on a false scent.

Again, some contend that the mere fact of going abroad changes a man by some strange alchemy from a provincialist to an internationalist. Travel, as Messrs Chesterton and Belloc might say with side-long glances at each other's girth, certainly does broaden one. But it may broaden one's dislike to include certain countries and peoples who previously existed only as names. Tolerance and understanding are not inevitable fruits of travel.

There is furthermore a group which maintains that if Americans only knew French and German and Italian and Spanish, the Golden Age would be with us. More nonsense. Knowledge of languages does not necessarily bring a healthy internationalism, as is clear to anyone who has studied the history of European

capacity for accomplishment she might posses, and that it was time to act. One day in April, 1888, she disclosed to Ellen Gates Starr the project of a definite center in which to apply their college learning to human need. Miss Starr responded with eager sympathy. "By the time we reached the enchantment of the Alhambra," Miss Addams writes, "the scheme had become convincing and tangible."

There, under the arched tracery woven of stone for the pleasure of Moorish kings, the resolution to found the future Hull House came to its maturity. Five months in Toynbee Hall, London's first settlement, for Miss Addams; then the great adventure was begun—forty years ago. And already it has set its mark upon the ages.

But the distinguishing characteristics of this settlement, its unshakable tolerance, the fundamental respect its members have for one another's firm beliefs, date back, it appears, to the quiet study of the old Quaker miller of Cedarville where a little girl was

bidden by her father to hold "mental integrity above everything else," and who kept that faith with him.

What child of "this generation"—ominous phrase!—holds a parental ideal sacred? Such a thing is "pricelessly Mid-Victorian"—a "hallmark of the booboisie"—contrary to behavioristic individualism!

Perhaps it is for this tragic reason that the story of the genesis of Hull House and the clear sincerity of its tradition strike us as already one with the great past. From the clash and horror of the Civil War something of intelligent responsibility was inherited. But from the World War, what but the bitter snarl of cynics and the yapping laughter of sneering infants, aged in the cradle, has descended to its heirs?

Forty years—the period is big with meaning in Scriptural tradition. Forty years from Egypt to the Land of Promise, forty years of desert wandering. Perhaps the steady light of that loyalty to moral integrity which Hull House embodies and enshrines may guide us through.

## International Economic Coöperation

KIRBY PAGE

WAR constitutes the most serious of all hindrances to the creation of a new economic order. Economic factors, in turn, are primary causes of war. Transformation of the existing industrial system is therefore dependent upon international processes and is a prerequisite of permanent peace.

War destroys material resources on a colossal scale. The direct financial costs of the World War to all belligerents reached the unimaginable total of 120 million dollars per day for more than four years. Savings of a lifetime were consumed and debts were piled mountain high. Upwards of 80 per cent of the annual expenses of the United States Government is consumed by war payments and a similar proportion prevails in other countries. Not less than 50 billion days of labor power were wasted by soldiers in the various armies, to say nothing of the misdirected energies of civilians. Approximately three billion days of hard labor by German workers will be required if payments are to be made regularly under the Young Plan. In addition to the millions of men sent prematurely to their graves, vast numbers were maimed for life and left a burden to themselves and to the community. Malnutrition and disease undermined the physical vitality of an unnumbered host. The accentuated dissipations of wartime weakened the moral fibre of the nations and thereby reduced industrial efficiency.

The economic consequences of another great war would be even more terrible. The weapons of combat

are becoming increasingly costly and their destructive powers more titanic. The actual devastation wrought by soldiers, sailors, and airmen would constitute only a small fraction of the total economic loss. The disruption of productive processes and the dislocation of international trade would be far more serious.

That economic forces are among the chief causes of international conflict is common knowledge. The struggle for control of raw materials, markets, trade routes, fields of investment and other sources of financial gain is even more dangerous now than heretofore. The units in the combat are rapidly growing in size; the degree of interdependence is steadily increasing and the impossibility of economic isolation is more apparent. To the extent that nations become industrialized, they find themselves involved in the economic affairs of the entire earth.

The seriousness of economic rivalry is greatly accentuated by the emotions and dogmas of nationalism. The prevailing political organization of mankind has transformed national boundary lines into walls of division. Suspicions and fears and hatreds are generated systematically on a wholesale scale. The idea is promulgated that national rights must be upheld at any cost and by all necessary methods, even by war itself. The dueling concept of honor still holds sway over the nations, and everywhere citizens are expected to offer their lives and property if required to avenge insults to their country.

The methods by which nations attempt to safeguard their rights, advance their interests, and maintain their prestige include: colonies, protectorates, mandates, spheres of influence, concessions, immigration barriers, monopolies, trusts and cartels, subsidies, discriminations, tariffs, export duties, restrictions on production, embargoes, boycotts, threats, diplomatic pressure, blockades, armed intervention and war. Fear that a combination of these methods will deprive it of access to the resources of the world and thereby imperil its standard of living is the primary reason why each nation maintains as powerful armaments as it deems necessary or can afford and why imperialism is so dominant at the present time. Nationalism and industrialism have created militarism and imperialism; and in combination they have produced war many times in the past and will do so again unless drastic changes are made in existing industrial relations.

THE nations of the world are today economically more interdependent than our thirteen states were at the close of the Revolutionary War. Therefore, international economic coöperation is now as imperatively required as interstate organization was needed then. Trade has become worldwide in scope, and national attempts at solutions of economic problems inadequate. Quantity of production in one country greatly affects prices in another. Financial depressions in one region produce ruin in others thousands of miles away. Prosperity in a given nation increases its purchasing power and thereby makes possible an increase of exports from other lands. Standards of living throughout the world could be raised substantially by wise planning and continuous coöperation on the part of the various nations.

An essential prerequisite to all this is that the nations *acquire* the habit of conference. Effective coöperation will not be possible unless the various peoples concerned widen their horizons and learn to look at a given problem from all angles. It is not enough for an Englishman to "think European" or for a citizen of New York to "think American"; all must learn to "think universally." This is an extraordinarily difficult accomplishment and will require arduous practice. Actual face-to-face contacts are essential to complete understanding. International conferences of various kinds are therefore of the utmost importance. Fortunately, a good beginning has been made. So far as economic questions are concerned, four general types of international gatherings are needed: of business men, of workers, of statesmen, and of a combination of the three groups.

I. First of all it is highly important that financiers and industrialists from different countries should get together at frequent intervals. Tremendous strides are being taken in this direction. Literally scores of com-

mercial and financial organizations of an international character frequently assemble delegates from all regions of the earth. Chief among these is the International Chamber of Commerce which was organized in 1919 and in which American business men have been active from the beginning. The I. C. C. has made a substantial contribution to the reduction of technical barriers to the free flow of goods. It established a court of arbitration for commercial disputes. It greatly aided the restoration of the gold standard in several European countries. One authority is of the opinion that "the Dawes plan was the work of the International Chamber of Commerce." It coöperated in planning the International Economic Conference of 1927 and its delegates played a prominent role in the proceedings of this gathering.

Members of the I. C. C. were helpful in paving the way for the successful conclusion of the efforts of the Young Commission. Many students of international affairs believe that the formation of the Bank for International Settlements by the Young Commission may prove to be an epoch-making event. Its activities are not to be confined to matters connected with reparation payments. There is reason to believe its founders hope that eventually it will become an international clearing-house through which the various central banks of the respective nations may function. Undoubtedly we are at the threshold of a new era of international coöperation on the part of financiers and industrialists. Whether or not this will lead to the formation of dangerous monopolies will be determined by the extent to which the workers of the different countries learn to act collectively, and by the degree of control established through official international agencies.

2. It is absolutely imperative that workers should learn to act internationally. This need has long been recognized in certain circles, although the mass of employees still think in provincial terms. During the period of nearly a century since the famous slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite!", was adopted, the international labor movement has made much progress and suffered many reverses. The whole story has been admirably told by Lewis L. Lorwin in *Labor and Internationalism*.

At present the workers of the different countries are functioning through eight international organizations: the Labor and Socialist International, the Amsterdam International, International Trade Secretariats, the Christian International, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the International Workingmen's Association, the Third International and the Red International. Of these, five are trade union organizations and three are primarily political in character. Three are revolutionary, two being composed of communists and one of anarcho-syndicalists.

THE Labor and Socialist International, commonly referred to as the Socialist International, was formed in 1923, as a merger of the Second International and the Two-and-a-Half International or Vienna Union. The First International was organized in 1864 and passed out of existence in 1876, while the Second International was formed in 1889, and the Vienna Union in 1921. The total membership of the groups affiliated with the Socialist International in 1928 was 6,637,622, and the total vote polled in the latest elections was 25,568,209. The strongest constituent units are the British Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The full title of the Amsterdam International is the International Federation of Trade Unions. It was formed at Zurich in 1913, and was an outgrowth of the International Secretariat. Its total membership in 1928 was 13,145,225, which was nine millions fewer than in 1921. It is the international medium for trade unions of the socialistic type, and its chief strength is in England and Germany. The I. F. T. U. works in close coöperation with the Socialist International, one emphasizing trade unionism and the other political action.

The International Trade Secretariats began to be formed during 1889 and 1890, the first one being a federation of the printers' unions of thirteen countries including the United States, and the second a combination of the miners' unions of England, France, Germany, and Austria. By 1900 seventeen Trade Secretariats were functioning, and by 1914 practically the entire field was covered.

The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions was launched in 1920 and is composed predominantly of Roman Catholics. Its membership in 1928 was 1,421,789. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized two days after the Armistice at Laredo, Texas, with seven countries represented. The International Workingmen's Association was formed in Berlin at the end of 1920 and is composed of syndicalists, its total membership in 1928 being 162,000.

The Third International, also known as the Communist International or Comintern, was organized in Moscow in 1919. It has 1,707,769 members, chiefly in Russia and Germany. It is openly committed to a program of world revolution, and in 1927 it appropriated \$690,206.85 for subsidies for party press and propaganda work in seventeen countries, the total annual budget being \$1,370,302.46. In 1921 the Red International of Labor Union, or Profintern, was brought into being to further the communist cause and to offset the activities of Amsterdam. It has twelve million members.

The thirty million members of trade union internationals are by no means agreed as to objective or

method. Indeed there is extreme bitterness between the various groups. The American Federation of Labor is the chief support of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and its subsidiaries are represented in most of the international trade secretariats. But it is not a member of Amsterdam although it has carried on a cautious flirtation, and it is violently hostile to Moscow. Thus it is apparent that international labor lags behind international finance, commerce, and industry. There is some probability that within the next decade in sheer self-defense the workers of various countries will learn to coöperate more effectively.

3. Of the seventy-five important international conferences composed of governmental delegates which have been convened since September, 1920, exclusive of the regular meetings of the various organs of the League of Nations and the Council of Ambassadors, approximately half were concerned chiefly with economic questions and another quarter were partially economic in scope. For many decades the major demands upon the time and energies of diplomatists have been financial and commercial in character. These negotiations have usually been conducted secretly. In recent years, as we have seen, private conversations between statesmen are being supplemented by a steadily increasing number of public conferences where delegates from many nations are assembled.

THE most significant gathering of this character was the International Economic Conference, held under the auspices of the League of Nations at Geneva in May, 1927. The conference was composed of 194 delegates and 157 experts from fifty countries, including most member states of the League, as well as Russia, Turkey and the United States. The delegates of the latter were Henry M. Robinson, Chairman; Norman H. Davis, John V. O'Leary, Alonso E. Taylor, and Julius H. Klein, with nine expert advisers.

The conference was divided into three sections: commerce, industry, and agriculture. An extraordinarily wide range of topics was included in the agenda: import and export restrictions, tariffs, subsidies, dumping, rationalization of industry, commercial and financial handicaps to efficiency, industrial agreements, trusts and cartels, hindrances to agricultural production, consumers coöperative societies, agricultural credit and a host of other important items.

The conference had no power to legislate for the respective nations, but it adopted a number of recommendations which were given wide publicity in the respective countries. The question of tariffs occupied a central position in conference discussions. It was pointed out that existing tariffs were too high, too complicated and too transient or unstable. In the official record we read: "The Conference declares that the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs

and to move in the opposite direction. The Conference recommends that nations should take steps forthwith to remove or diminish those tariff barriers that gravely hamper trade." Yet for some inexplicable reason the chairman of the American delegation in reporting to the President said: "No recommendation was made in respect of tariff levels."

Conferences of this character have three primary values: the preparatory research and documentation makes available relevant information for the delegates and for the public in general; the recommendations influence public opinion throughout the world and make governmental action easier; the face-to-face contacts of the delegates increase understanding, remove prejudices, and create friendships. Concerning this last point, Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic Section of the League Secretariat, said:

We hoped when we arranged the Conference (and we found in practice that our hopes were justified) that when the very people who, in their several countries, faced with the fact that other countries were increasing their tariffs, advised increasing their own tariffs even more, were brought together with their "opposite numbers" from other countries to consider the world problem they would take a different attitude. They did take a different attitude; they said, "This thing has gone too far: it must be stopped. This is madness." We hoped and we found, in this as in so many other cases, that when people met together they would realize that what looked like individual wisdom was really collective insanity.

Cynics may point to the fact that many rises in tariffs have occurred around the world since the International Economic Conference adjourned. One can never be sure that collective insanity will not triumph over collective wisdom, but we may be certain that if reason ever becomes dominant in the determination of international economic policies, conferences of this nature will have played an important part in the victory.

Perhaps of even greater importance than these infrequent conferences are the regular activities of the technical commissions and the Secretariat of the Economic Section of the League of Nations. Week in and week out these faithful international servants are wrestling with problems that affect the welfare of many millions of people. Agencies of the League assumed the leadership in the financial reconstruction of Austria, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Estonia, Danzig, Albania, and Portugal. They have tackled such questions of double taxation, import and export prohibitions, customs formalities and nomenclature, unfair competition, commercial arbitration, communication and transport. The real significance of the League is not in its actual accomplishments to date but in the new technique which it is helping to establish.

4. The International Labor Organization affords still another type of international economic coöpera-

tion. The I. L. O., founded by the Treaty of Versailles, is a part of the League of Nations, with practically autonomous control, and now has 55 members. It has three main divisions, the International Labor Conference, the Governing Board, and the Secretariat. These are roughly parallel to the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat of the League.

The International Labor Conference meets annually. Its method of representation is unique among international gatherings. One-half its delegates are representatives of governments, one-quarter are representatives of employers, and one-quarter representatives of the workers. Thus each nation sends three types of delegates. This procedure insures comprehensive discussions of all problems that are considered.

The conference has three methods of registering its conclusions, draft conventions, draft recommendations, and resolutions. The first of these is a draft treaty to be ratified or rejected by the member nations. Included in the subjects covered in the twenty-six draft conventions which have been adopted are the following: limitation of hours, unemployment, night work of women, child labor at night, minimum age of admission of children to industrial employment and agriculture, weekly rest periods, workmen's compensation, sickness insurance, minimum wage-fixing machinery. Approximately 350 ratifications by governments have been deposited out of a much greater number of possible ratifications. Delay in this matter has seriously handicapped the whole procedure.

The Secretariat is composed of some 350 experts gathered from more than thirty countries. Among its functions are preparatory work for the annual conferences, the sending out of information to governments and interested bodies, the answering of inquiries, research tasks, publication of several periodicals as well as numerous books and pamphlets.

Thus it is apparent that a substantial beginning in international economic coöperation has been made. But the accomplishment to date is only a fraction of what is demanded by the advanced stage of interdependence in which the nations now find themselves. The people of the United States, especially, are plodding slowly along. Tariffs are being raised at the very period when we are insisting upon debt payments and interest returns on foreign investments. Organized labor has yet to learn the a-b-c of international coöperation. The Government has refused to accept membership in the League and the I. L. O. To be sure, it is coöoperating with these agencies more freely than formerly was the case, but still it halts and hesitates. Those citizens who are concerned about the peace of the world and about the creation of a new economic order will do well to stimulate more continuous and enthusiastic coöperation by business men, workers, and the Government with the peoples of other lands.

# The Divine Commonwealth

By Kirby Page

*Mr. Page, the newly appointed Editor of the "World Tomorrow," is best known through his books "An American Peace Policy" and "War—Its Causes, Consequences and Cure."*



HIS generation is determined to secure the maximum measure of self-expression. Strenuous efforts are everywhere being put forth to gain release from all bonds that hinder freedom of action. Self-determination is the slogan of the hour. Political minorities are demanding self-government; racial groups are seeking equal rights; workers are burning with resentment against exploitation; women are throwing off the ancient yoke of male domination; youth is revolting against the coercive control of age. The spread of popular education, the growth of democratic ideas and the rise of the new psychology have combined to intensify the struggle for freedom. Fierce resentment is everywhere manifested by groups and individuals against outside dictation and external authority. In the pursuit of desire, custom and tradition, law and morality, are being swept aside.

This is a self-centered generation. In the case of enormous numbers of persons the desire for self-expression is being satisfied in terms of bodily appetites and physical pleasures. Comfort and luxury are the supreme desire of multitudes. Art, music and religion as channels of self-expression are neglected by all save a chosen few. Our civilization emphasizes possession more than it does creation. This is a golden age of materialism. The result is almost universal restlessness and strife. Both winners and losers in the struggle for possessions are dissatisfied. The winners discover that the body soon becomes jaded and satiated and no longer responds to physical stimuli, whereas the losers are the victims of suppressed desires. The result is widespread disgust and cynicism on the one hand, with envy and hatred on the other. The pursuit of material things and bodily pleasures does not lead to deep contentment and abiding joy. Self-centeredness does not yield satisfactory returns. If this age is to discover the meaning of life it must travel another road than that of self-indulgence.

At such an hour we will do well to turn to the record of the life of Jesus and seek to discover the secret of his fascinating personality. In him we see self-expression at its highest point, and yet without any trace of self-indulgence. He

resolutely turned away from seeking after comfort, luxury or physical pleasure, and yet without exhibiting the blighting effects of self-repression. His contemporaries agree in picturing him as a personality of unequalled poise, abounding joy and matchless charm. Wherein do we find the secret of his marvelous life? The answer is written on almost every page of the record. He found life in the process of losing himself in creative service on behalf of his fellows. Self-expression took the form of self-giving. Self-centeredness was replaced by complete devotion to a great cause. As a consequence, instead of satiety and disgust, he found abiding joy and thrilling adventure. Let us examine in more detail the nature of the task to which he gave himself with such complete abandon and utter enthusiasm.

Jesus conceived his primary task to be that of establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. Perhaps the phrase "the Family of God" even more accurately describes what he had in mind. His purpose was to help men to know God as an intimate, ever-present friend, eager to respond to his children's appeal for strength and guidance and delighting in their companionship. In addition to the effort to inculcate the filial spirit toward God, he sought to persuade men and women to regard all human beings as brothers and sisters, members of God's family, and each therefore of infinite worth and deserving of affection and kindly service. The virtues which Jesus praised are family virtues: understanding, sympathy, love, forgiveness, service, sacrifice. Again and again he called attention to certain attitudes and practices which have no place in the family life: covetousness, greed, hatred, retaliation, revenge. Since all men are members of the same family they are under obligation to love and forgive under all circumstances, even to the extent of loving enemies, blessing them, doing them good, praying for them, forgiving them seventy times seven. By way of summary we may say that the task to which Jesus gave himself unremittingly was the effort to induce men to love God with their whole nature and to love their fellows as God loves them.

It is of the utmost significance that we clearly understand the nature of the means and methods by which Jesus sought to inaugurate the Family

of God. He came to bring life abundant to all men and to help them live together in the family spirit. He soon discovered that the consummation of his ideals was hindered by the presence of evil doers—individuals who refused to live lives of love toward God and man but who instead exhibited anti-family attitudes and practices. The supreme problem which confronted Jesus, therefore, was this: By what means could he overcome evil and thus remove the barriers to the coming of the Reign of God? The record reveals the fact that many of the most serious crises of Jesus' life centered around this issue. At the beginning of his ministry, in the wilderness, and at its close, in the Garden of Gethsemane, he wrestled with this problem. The choice he made was to overcome evil by doing good. What he meant by doing good is revealed clearly in his teaching and in his own example. Live always as a good member of the family, refrain from those attitudes and practices which violate the family spirit, depend upon love and forgiveness incarnated in conduct for victory over enemies, refuse ever to depart from the way of love and be willing to endure the consequences of this action. Thus we see Jesus going about doing good, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, comforting the sorrowing, teaching the ignorant, loving and forgiving his enemies, refusing to abandon his chosen way of life even though it carried him to agony and death on the cross. By word and by deed Jesus made it clear that if in the struggle between good and evil somebody must die the innocent should endure suffering rather than kill the guilty. The Cross is Jesus' method of overcoming evil and thus making possible the inauguration of God's reign.

It should be emphasized that Jesus did not regard his own life and death as sufficient to overcome all evil. He chose and trained disciples to the end that they might aid in the great task. The record is clear and consistent in showing that Jesus expected his disciples to seek his ends and to use his methods; that is to say, he challenged them to live as he had lived: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross (that is, let him take up my manner of life: let him love his enemies; let him bless, do good, pray, forgive, suffer, endure) and follow me."

Jesus clearly recognized that the efforts of his disciples to overcome evil by doing good would frequently result in suffering and death. "Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household. . . . Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by

itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit."

It is undeniable that Jesus sought self-expression through self-giving and that he called upon his disciples to find life by losing themselves in seeking the Family of God. It is equally certain that Jesus impressed his contemporaries as being a man of great serenity and joy. On numerous occasions Jesus spoke of the peace, power and joy that awaited all who would follow his way of life. On the very same evening when Jesus warned of his own approaching death and the suffering which would befall them, he said: "My peace I give unto you. . . . These things have I spoken unto you that my joy may be in you, and that your joy may be made full." The New Testament is filled with references to the joyousness of the early Christians in the face of persecution and death. It is also a fact of history that the men and women who have most closely followed the example of Jesus have usually reflected an unconquerable spirit of joy and gladness. Again and again it has been demonstrated that the way to find life is by losing self in complete devotion to a great cause.

This generation would do well to reflect upon the experience of Jesus and his closest followers through the ages. Real self-expression is not possible through self-indulgence. To be self-centered is to dam up deep springs of self-expression. Seeking after comfort, luxury and physical pleasure can never bring the most abiding satisfaction or the deepest joy. There is an inexorable law of life: "He that would save his life, shall lose it." If this generation really desires the maximum of self-expression, it must rise above the low level of bodily sensations and material desires.

The effort to build the Family of God on earth offers the members of this generation the maximum opportunity for self-expression. To help men and women know God as a constant friend and companion and to persuade individuals, classes, nations and races to live together as be-hooves members of a common family, is a stupendously difficult and dangerous undertaking. In its nature this task is extraordinarily complex and diversified and in the ranks of the Family-builders is room for a limitless variety of talents. Not only missionaries, preachers and teachers, but farmers, merchants and mechanics are needed if men and women everywhere are to enjoy life abundant and live together in the family spirit. To become a fellow worker with God is the highest of privileges. Let him who would probe most deeply into the meaning of life enroll in the ranks of those who have completely dedicated themselves to the task of building, here and now, the Divine Commonwealth.

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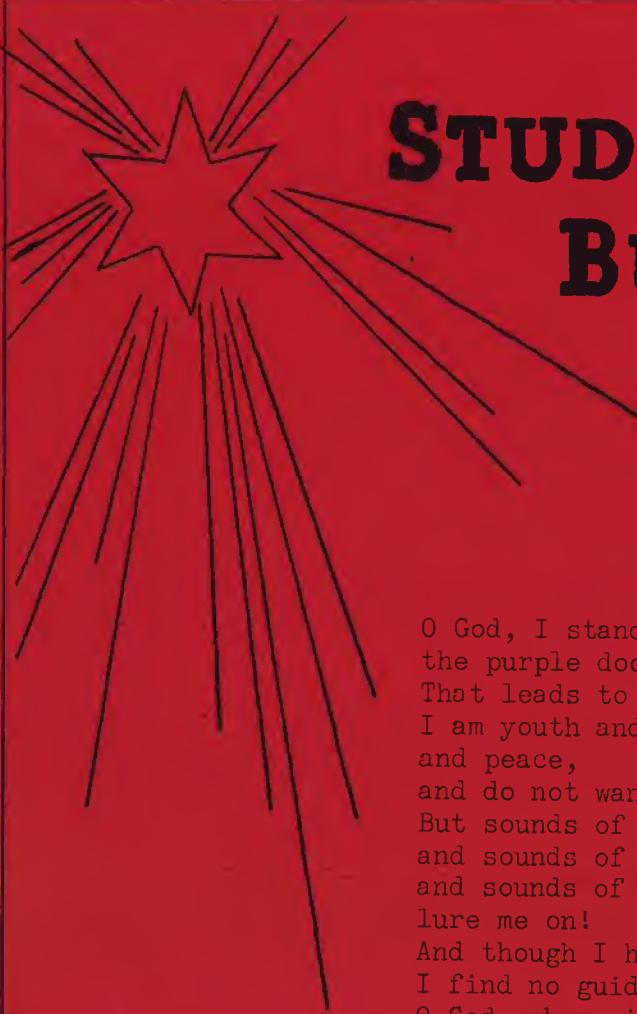
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# STUDENT WORK BULLETIN

O God, I stand before  
the purple door  
That leads to hate, and mockery, and war . . .  
I am youth and I love life  
and peace,  
and do not want to enter!  
But sounds of power  
and sounds of duty  
and sounds of wealth  
lure me on!  
And though I hesitate  
I find no guiding hand!  
O God, where is thy messenger  
the church,  
that guards the path before?  
Is it still sleeping there  
inside that worldly door?

- G. Parker Rossman, Jr.  
University of Oklahoma '41.



The poem on the cover was written  
by Parker Rossman, a Junior student  
at the University of Oklahoma. He  
is President of the Christian Youth  
Fellowship of Oklahoma College Centers.  
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## A MAJOR TASK OF CHRISTIANS

By Kirby Page  
La Habara, California

A major task of Christians during this period of world crisis is to discover what it means to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Does this mean that government belongs to Caesar and that therefore citizens must always obey government? If so, what things belong to God? Is government outside of God's zone?

The Christian answer is clear: all things belong to God, including government. The supreme obligation of a follower of Christ is to find the will of God and to do the will of God. Long before the totalitarianism of Hitler there was the totalitarianism of Christ. To Jesus it never occurred that God's reign is partial, that God is barred from control of government. The classic answer of Christianity to the question of comparative loyalty to government and to God was given by the early Christians: "We must obey God rather than man."

The supreme need of America in this hour is for patriots who will love God utterly and will love man totally; men and women who will live with responsive awareness of the presence of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of all peoples - Americans, British, Germans, Italians, Norwegians, Chinese, Japanese, Russians, Greeks. The desperate cry of this generation is for patriots who will love their countrymen and be concerned about the victims of aggression in other lands while maintaining goodwill to the peoples of aggressor nations and continuing to put their trust in spiritual forces.

The more Christlike an individual becomes, the truer his patriotism. Caesar is subordinate to God. The sovereignty of God includes control of government. We must obey God rather than man.

All Christians accept in theory the totalitarianism of Christ. With one accord we sing:

Make me captive, Lord,  
And then I shall be free;  
Force me to render up my sword,  
And I shall conqueror be.

Christian evangelism has always called for complete surrender to Christ and to his way of life. The way of the cross is perilous, but it is redemptive. This is God's way of overcoming evil and enthroning righteousness. In following this way we are called upon to exhibit courage and sacrificial devotion equal to that required of soldiers on the battlefield. The way of the cross is also the way of supreme joy. It is true that he who throws his life away in utter devotion to the way of the cross finds life indeed.

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Editor's Note: This statement was prepared especially for this Bulletin in response to the request that he write the suggestions he "would like to make to Christian student leaders as to what they can and should do in regard to the world situation now."

## INFORMATION ON CONSCRIPTION AS A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Mr. James A. Crain, executive secretary of the Department of Social Education and Social Action of the United Christian Missionary Society, has supplied upon request of the editor, the following four pieces of material for inclusion in this Student Work Bulletin:

1. "Suggestions to Ministers Concerning the Conscription Law"
2. "Important Information Concerning the Conscription Law"

Note - These two documents immediately follow this page in this Bulletin.

3. "Christianity is Pacifism"
4. "Form 47 for Conscientious Objectors"

Note - These two pieces of material are inserted loosely in Section II of this Bulletin.

These materials, along with some others, were sent by Mr. Crain to the complete mailing list of the Disciples Peace Fellowship and the Conscientious Objector enrollment.

If you desire further information concerning any phase of the conscription law, or of the conscientious objector situation, Mr. Crain will be glad to serve you.

If you have any news to report from your community concerning any phase of the conscription problem, it would be a great service to send it on promptly to Mr. James A. Crain, Missions Building, 222 Downey Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana.

### THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

In these days when bitter choices seemingly must be made, it is well to realize that as Christians there is a third alternative. We are not compelled to choose between hating and fearing, we can love. Where is another choice beyond fighting or running away, beyond war or isolation; it is Christian Reconstruction.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has prepared a folder addressed to the Christian Youth of North America setting forth this "Third Alternative: Christian Reconstruction". A copy of this is enclosed loosely in Section II of this Bulletin.

Idea for sermon or talk on the above topic: Peter's actions on three occasions illustrate this third alternative: (1) He struck off the ear of the high priest servant (John 18:10,11)-(2) He denied Jesus (John 18:15-27)-(3) He with John healed the lame man, was arrested, and spoke boldly for Christ before Sanhedrin and all the people (Acts 3 and 4).

# 1936 Lay Hold on Courage!

By Kirby Page

**I**N AN AGE of social convulsion a man must lay hold on courage if he is to experience the deeper satisfactions of life or to render significant service in creating the good society.

Since 1914 the various peoples around the earth have witnessed a more cataclysmic social upheaval than ever occurred in any previous quarter-century of history. And at this hour flashes of lightning and reverberations of thunder sound a warning that further storms are sweeping upon us. Perhaps not even the youngest members of this generation will live long enough to dwell in a tranquil society. Far more likely is the prospect of terrific social conflict until the end of their days. Fathomless depths of agony for innumerable hosts of men lie between us and the divine community on earth.

### *Toward Warfare*

Insecurity is a dominant characteristic of the present era. At such an hour holders of privilege and power, frightened at the prospect of losing their superior status, display increasing ruthlessness toward opponents of the existing social order; while the victims of economic decay, suffering the cumulative tortures of frustration and privation, manifest stronger determination to break the chains of their oppression. This rebellion, in turn, strikes deeper terror into the minds of the rich and powerful, with the result that class conflict moves toward devastating class warfare.

Reliance upon armed violence accompanies insecurity. Owners of great properties feel justified in resorting to any necessary degree of armed coercion in defending their interests; indeed, they zealously believe that in so doing they are safeguarding society itself. The odds against the mass of workers appear so slight that in desperation the exploited break forth in sporadic acts of violence. Every such outburst is heralded to the world by the owning class, through its press and radio and screen, as proof of the righteousness of its holy crusade against agitators and subversive influences, and serves as a justification for further repressive measures. But the perpetuation of unfair conditions through coercion deepens the convictions of an increasing host of victims that armed revolution offers the only way of escape from intolerable bondage.

### *Driven Into the Struggle*

Insecurity prevails not only in domestic relations but in international affairs as well, with the consequence that a terrific race of armaments is now magnifying fear and hostility. Favored nations talk earnestly about international law and respect for treaties in their eagerness to preserve advantages, while the handicapped countries punctuate their demands for a place in the sun by brandishing unsheathed swords. The aggressiveness of the late comers convinces the dominant powers that they have no alternative but to arm heavily in defense of their possessions. This procedure, in turn,

seems to justify the frustrated in preparing for war as the only means of bringing about changes deemed essential to national interest and prestige.

This total situation places upon individuals who are unalterably opposed to violence and warfare responsibility for achieving a drastic transformation of the status quo by peaceable means. Sensitive ethical spirits with understanding of the preventable tragedies of the present moment are driven irresistibly into the struggle to bring about far-reaching changes in the social order. Only the craven can tolerate the wreckage and cruelty of a competitive economic system when he comprehends its real nature.

But commitment to the cause of social righteousness places one in opposition to vested interests which profit from a continuation of the prevailing system and to nationalists who rely upon armed preparedness and warfare for security and privilege. In periods of extreme social tension, opposition to the status quo is met with drastic repression and persecution. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that members of this generation whose sensitiveness and insight drive them into active resistance to competitive capitalism and to the war system must lay hold on courage if they are to survive relentless hostility from alarmed upholders of the present social order.

### *A Carpenter of Galilee*

The nature of the peril confronting opponents of an entrenched social system may be illustrated by an appeal to history. Nineteen centuries ago a carpenter of Galilee was subjected to the excruciating pains of crucifixion because he sought to bring about drastic changes in the habits and institutions of his contemporaries. Dullness, fear, passion, greed, credulity and inertia combined to send him to an early grave. The carpenter of Galilee agonizing on a cross between two thieves illustrates vividly the historic fate of pioneers and prophets who in hours of extreme social tension encounter insensitivity, fright, hatred, covetousness, gullibility and indifference. Society is not only ruthless in dealing with threats to security by robbers from below, but likewise is relentless in suppressing opposition from prophets above.

"The time is coming when anyone who has murdered one of you will suppose he is offering service to God" (John 16:2, Weymouth). That this warning of Jesus to his disciples was amply justified is evident from the record of the persecution they endured. Persons who are described as "those who turn the world upside down" are certain to meet bitter hostility from groups which desire to preserve an existing social system. Therefore most of the twelve apostles and of the seventy disciples met violent death. For three centuries the early Christian church passed through wave after wave of terrible persecution. The Roman cult of the state demanded worship of the emperor and meted out

death to persons who refused to burn incense at his altar. Unwillingness to make this patriotic gesture was considered treason and dealt with accordingly. A faint parallel is furnished by the attitude of enraged patriots in wartime toward groups of individuals who persist in refusing to salute the flag. The totalitarianism of Christianity has often brought its followers into conflict with the totalitarian state.

#### *Heresy as Revolution*

Time and again minority groups of Christians have been subjected to ruthless persecution from upholders of the status quo. "Every heretical doctrine," wrote the great historian Dollinger, "which arose in the Middle Ages had explicitly or implicitly a revolutionary character, that is, in the measure that it attained to a commanding position it threatened to dissolve the existing political order and to effect a political or social transformation. These Gnostic sects, the Cathari and the Albigenses, which specially provoked the harsh and ruthless legislation, and had to be put down in a series of bloody struggles, were the socialists and communists of that time."

At the present hour no religious group stands higher in public esteem than the Quakers, yet their spiritual fathers were subjected to every manner of indignity and cruelty. George Fox was arrested and brought before courts sixty times and served eight terms in prison. In every age it has been dangerous to fall below or to rise high above contemporary standards and practices. Nevertheless sensitivity and insight have again and again driven minority groups into rebellion against prevailing iniquities. It is thus obvious that courage has been a prerequisite of pioneering.

#### *The Universal Demand for Sacrifice*

High religion has often been considered visionary and Utopian because of its demand for self-sacrifice. A moment's reflection, however, brings to mind the fact that numerous other ways of life make this same demand. Nationalism, fascism and communism all call for undivided loyalty and utter devotion. Subordination of the comfort and safety of the individual to the welfare of the groups is assumed without question by all the rivals of religion.

Nationalism demands that in hours of crisis a citizen be prepared to sacrifice everything for the state. In wartime a patriot must be willing to give up position and income; he must be ready to experience long separation from wife and children; he must be willing to endure extreme discomfort and privation and to run the risk of losing limb or life itself. All this is not considered visionary and Utopian but is looked upon as the essence of the patriotism which is expected of every loyal citizen. And this expectation is justified in fact because millions of ordinary men and women do respond courageously and sacrificially.

Fascism also demands courage and sacrificial devotion; not only demands but secures these responses from multitudes of individuals. Mussolini and Hitler rule partly by terror and partly by enthusiastic allegiance of their followers. Youth especially is attracted by the challenge to lay everything on the altar of the

state. The degree to which the individual is subordinated to the state under fascism appears incredible and monstrous to persons who have been nurtured on the doctrines of democracy. Personal freedom, personal comfort, personal safety must all be sacrificed at the command of the dictator. Body and soul are at the mercy of the leader.

Communism likewise demands absolute allegiance. Nothing whatever must be allowed to stand between the loyal communist and devotion to the cause. Imprisonment, exile and execution hung like Damoclean steel over the heads of the early bolsheviks. One of the tests of fitness for high office in the first days of the soviet regime was found in the candidate's record of sufferings in the struggle for freedom. Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky and many other outstanding leaders spent long years in prison and in exile, and frequently were subjected to extreme privation and suffering. The daring and devotion of Russian revolutionaries has rarely been equalled in history.

#### *A Commonplace Virtue*

Few generations have ever been called upon for heavier sacrifices than those demanded of the present-day youth of Russia. Young men and women under 25 years of age in that land have never known comfort and plenty. Millions of them with passionate zeal have thrown themselves into the struggle to build a new society, while multitudes of others have been goaded forward by hunger and dictatorship. The price paid for the success of the first five year plan was terrific beyond exaggeration. The weight of burdens placed upon human muscles, the pangs of the human stomach, and the twitching of human nerves cannot be comprehended by most readers of these words.

Mature reflection drives home the conclusion that there is no reason to be astonished at the bravery and fidelity called forth by nationalism, fascism and communism, because even in peace-time entire professions of men and women constantly imperil their own lives in serving the community. The adage that self-preservation is the first law of life was long ago revealed to be without foundation by innumerable doctors, nurses, firemen, policemen, life-guards, explorers, scientists, missionaries, prophets and martyrs.

Courage is not only one of the indispensable virtues, it is also one of the most commonplace. Yet in America today the assumption prevails widely that it is visionary and Utopian to expect religious people to follow their deepest convictions at the cost of position, comfort and safety. Indeed we are confronted with an amazing paradox: while a Christian physician is expected to run deadly risks in following his profession, he is regarded as queer if he takes a chance of losing clients by radical activities in behalf of a new social order under the compulsion of ethical sensitiveness. The man who in wartime is applauded for heroism in battle is later likely to be hounded from his position if he stands resolutely against competitive capitalism and the war system of national defense. Courage in behalf of the status quo in one sector is taken for granted, while bravery on the part of an innovator opposing it in another is derided as contrary to human nature!

High religion is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle with nationalism and fascism. And even communism in Russia is attempting to destroy utterly all recognized forms of religion. Secularism is another mortal foe of religion. At this moment organized religion is reeling under repeated blows from many directions. That the churches are losing ground is attested by numerous alarmed witnesses.

Now the malady which is afflicting organized religion in our time is complex, but surely no thoughtful observer will deny that lack of courage on the part of most religious people in following what they know to be the mandates of their faith is responsible for much of the barrenness and impotence of the churches. Every Christian realizes that he is supposed to follow the way of the cross. To the degree that he has insight into the true nature of a competitive economic order and the war system, he is obliged by the character of his religion to throw himself against their inherent iniquities. Age-old experience makes clear, however, that vigorous opposition to the status quo calls forth ruthless persecution, and that in hours of social convulsion even death itself may be the penalty for drastic innovation. The present crisis calls for courageous loyalty on the part of Christians at least equal to that displayed

by nationalists, fascists and communists. Timid Christians will never be able to overcome their courageous foes.

"The time is coming when any one who has murdered one of you will suppose he is offering service to God." In such an age as this we are now living. Yet the evidence is cumulatively overwhelming that continued clinging to the existing social order will carry us over Niagara into the rapids of world warfare, tyranny and chaos. On either side of the straight and narrow way we are threatened with a dizzy precipice. To attempt to preserve vested interests by repression and fascist dictatorship is merely to hasten the hour of doom; while in the United States an effort to create a new society by armed revolution and proletarian dictatorship accelerates the downward pace through civil war to disintegration and chaos. Only one pathway leads upward to the city of God; radical transformation of the present social order by pacific means. "Go in at the narrow gate. For the road that leads to destruction is broad and spacious, and there are many who go in by it. But the gate is narrow and the road is hard that leads to life, and there are few that find it." No man can travel this way unless he lays hold on courageous loyalty.

## Can There Be Peace in Palestine?

By Albert Viton

*Jerusalem, July 22.*

**A**LMOST twelve weeks have passed since I reported to the readers of *The Christian Century* on the present revolt in Palestine. The revolt is still in full swing. The end is not yet in sight. On the contrary, with every day that passes it gains in momentum; its base among the Arab population expands; the doubtful, the passive, the disinterested are drawn into the current. The situation today is far more serious than it was even last week.

Perhaps the most important development since I wrote has been that the *fellaheen*, the peasants, have entered the struggle, and by entering have given it an altogether new turn. In the beginning, when the city and town Arabs dominated the movement, it was directed primarily against the Jews. Today it is no longer that. It is directed first and foremost against the British. Whether the cause be an instinctive awareness that the imperialist power, Britain, is the real source of their grievances, or a primitive hatred of the infidel foreigner, is debatable. But it is not debatable that it is against Britain that the brunt of the attack is now directed.

Two weeks ago a British correspondent and I took our lives in our hands and went down to Nablus. Four young fellows stopped our car as soon as we entered the town and jumped on the running board. "What do you want?" they asked menacingly. I produced a pass from the Jerusalem strike committee. They changed imme-

dately and began telling us of their latest battle with the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders and how they had killed many of them—sixty, they said with oriental exaggeration.

"But why do you fight the soldiers?" I asked. "The Supreme Arab committee in Jerusalem has said that first of all you should not use violence, and, second, you have nothing against the British."

"Tuzz,"—to the devil—"with those British slaves," they exclaimed in one chorus; "we are the supreme committee, we who go to the hills."

And, in fact, most of the attacks during the last few weeks have been directed against the British; often even against their Arab allies. Police and military posts, patrols, soldiers' camps are now attacked; railroads are damaged; telephones are cut down.

### Constant Violence

Not a day passes without its acts of violence; crops destroyed here, groves uprooted there. Bombs still explode on every side, and battles between the soldiers and rebels occur day and night. Last night a regular battle took place somewhere in Jerusalem, the soldiers replying with one-pounders. Nobody knows the total number of Arab dead, but I believe that 250 is not an exaggeration, and probably three times that many have been wounded.

All this in spite of the presence of 15,000 soldiers in the country. Day and night they rush in their rapid,

*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
CENTURY**  
*A Journal of Religion*

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## I Vote for Landon!

By Charles P. Taft

## Conscientious Objector: 1936 Model

By Jean L. Bowie

## Peace-Pledged Patriotism

By Kirby Page

Tolerance and Democracy  
Dare Labor Stay Neutral?

*Editorials*

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## In This Issue

## CHARLES P. TAFT

is a son of William Howard Taft, and is carrying on the traditions of his famous family in American civic life. A lawyer, Mr. Taft has been one of the leaders of the famous "charter committee" in his home city of Cincinnati, by virtue of whose labors that city has been given a non-partisan government which is regarded as a model city administration. As a layman in the Protestant Episcopal church he has borne a conspicuous part in the lay activities not only of his own communion but also of many interdenominational and undenominational bodies. In the present national campaign Mr. Taft is acting as one of the personal advisers of Governor Landon, the republican nominee.

## JEAN L. BOWIE

is the wife of Dr. W. Russell Bowie, rector of Grace Episcopal church, New York city.

## KIRBY PAGE

a contributing editor to *The Christian Century*, is continuing the labors in behalf of peace which have brought him international recognition by directing the current Emergency Peace campaign.

## REGINA WESTCOTT WIEMAN

consulting psychologist, has written several books, of which the most recent are "Normative Psychology of Religion," written in collaboration with her husband, Dr. Henry Nelson Wieman, and "Popularity," a study especially designed for students.

## Coming

The series of articles on the current campaign will next present the socialist challenge, as defined by the candidate of the socialist party, Norman Thomas.... Chapters from the forthcoming autobiography of Edward A. Steiner will appear during the coming months. The first, "The Casting Away of Israel's Sins," will be published in the near future.

# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

September 23, 1936

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## Calendar of Coming Events

Sept. 22-25. Fourteenth annual Illinois convention, Disciples, University Place Christian church, Champaign, Ill.

Sept. 23-25. Annual Missouri convention, W.C.T.U., Union Ave. Christian church, St. Louis.

Sept. 25-27. National conference on pacifism and religion, Northover camp, Bound Brook, N. J.

Sept. 29. Methodist Episcopal state conference, St. Joseph, Mo.

Sept. 29-Oct. 1. Northern Baptist state convention, Jerome, Idaho.

Sept. 29-Oct. 2. Northern Baptist state convention, Bismarck, N. D.

Sept. 29-Oct. 2. Philadelphia Methodist leadership rallies, with Prof. O. W. Warmingham, Philadelphia.

Oct. 1-3. Northern Baptist state convention, Sparks, Nev.

Oct. 2, 3. Mohawk valley conference of Free churches, Rochester, N. Y.

Oct. 5-7. Northern Baptist state convention, Anoka, Minn.

Oct. 5-7. Wisconsin Congregational annual conference, Eau Claire, Wis.

Oct. 5-8. Northern Baptist state convention, San Jose, Northern Calif.

Oct. 6, 7. Northern Baptist state convention, Dover, N. H.

Oct. 6-8. Northern Baptist state convention, Loveland, Colo.

Oct. 7-11. Northern Baptist state convention, Watertown, S. D.

Oct. 7-11. Northern Baptist state convention, McCook, Nebr.

Oct. 8. Methodist ministerial conference, south district, St. Matthew's church, Philadelphia.

Oct. 8-10. Tenth biennial congress of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., Columbus, Ohio.

Oct. 12. Evangelical and Reformed synod of the mid-west, Chicago, Ill.

Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Coffeyville, Kans.

Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Charleston, W. Va.

Oct. 13-15. Northern Baptist state convention, Bluffton, Ind.

Oct. 14-16. Northern Baptist state convention, Cedar Rapids, Ia.

Oct. 14-21. Tenth biennial convention of the United Lutheran church, Columbus, O.

Oct. 15. State Sunday school convention, Peterborough, N. H.

Oct. 15-17. Northern Baptist state convention, Hartford, Conn.

Oct. 16. Continuation of state Sunday school convention, Littleton, N. H. (Note change of place.)

Oct. 16-18. Twenty-fifth anniversary Kennedy school of missions, Hartford seminary foundation, Hartford, Conn.

Oct. 18-22. Northern Baptist state centennial, Detroit, Mich.

Oct. 20. Connecticut institute on church and social relations, Hartford Theological seminary.

Oct. 20-22. Northern Baptist state convention, Harrisburg, Pa.

Oct. 20-22. Annual meeting, northern California Congregational conference.

Oct. 21-24. National council of Y.M.C.A., Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati, O.

Announcements of coming events to be included in this column should reach the editorial offices of *The Christian Century* at least four weeks in advance of the date announced. It is the desire of *The Christian Century* to make this calendar as complete as possible in its inclusion of all important pending events in the religious world.

possess. We don't want to fight—you have the upper hand and we stand to lose heavily, but we would rather risk our lives in order to find something for our children than be forever imprisoned in such a system as we discover this to be."

There is, of course, much more to be said—volumes

are being written to make the case for both sides—but when the choice comes it will be on the basis of some such simple alternative as has been presented above. If we are going to be called—indeed, if we are called now—to take a stand, we, the conscientious objectors of 1936 had better be prepared.

## Peace-Pledged Patriotism

By Kirby Page

**C**OMPLACENCY and despair are comrades in the service of Mars. The citizen who glibly assumes that there is only slight possibility that this country will soon take up arms and the one who tears his hair in consternation because war is inevitable are alike increasing the danger that the United States will become a belligerent. The truest patriot at this hour of crisis is the person who recognizes the extreme gravity of the international situation and who therefore is exerting every atom of his energy in helping to preserve the peace.

The simple truth of the matter is that the nations are now rushing insanely toward the holocaust. The trend may easily be observed by comparing the state of international politics at this moment with the situation in 1925 or 1930. Beyond possibility of doubt the threat of war has become more alarming. Moreover, the immediate outcome of the situation in Europe and in the far east is not going to be determined primarily by the United States. To a substantial degree the American people are now helpless to prevent a European or an Asiatic war.

### *Can America Stay Out?*

Will this country be able to stay out of a world war if and when it breaks out? Yes possibly! No probably! Because the price to be paid is so stupendous that the American people are not likely to pay it. The shorter a European or an Asiatic war the greater likelihood that America will stay out. If, however, the conflict is prolonged, the odds become heavier against our ability to keep from being pulled into the whirlpool.

The minimum conditions for American abstention may be stated simply. Through appropriate congressional action the following measures must be included in the law of the land: First, citizens of the United States must be forbidden to sell munitions and war supplies, liberally defined, to belligerents. Second, they must not be allowed to make loans or advance credits for any purpose to warring governments or to citizens of these lands. Third, they must be prevented from increasing the total national trade with any country, even in non-contraband commodities, beyond a fixed quota derived by averaging exports over a five year period. Fourth, they must be prohibited from traveling on vessels of belligerent nations. Fifth, they must be warned that if they ship any commodities into the war zone or travel in the war zone they do so at their own risk and that their government assumes no obliga-

tion whatever to resort to armed hostilities in the event that their property is destroyed or their lives are lost. That is to say, American citizens must not be allowed to become deeply involved financially in the outcome of a foreign war, or to create situations whereby their government may be called upon for armed action.

### *The Price of Neutrality*

At this moment a great majority of the American people are probably willing to commit themselves to this drastic policy, and it is of the utmost importance that congress be besieged with demands for comprehensive legislation along these lines. But it is also true that only a tiny fraction of our fellow-citizens realize the stupendous difficulty of enforcing these measures in wartime. Consider two commodities as illustrations of what is involved: wheat and cotton. If armed hostilities break out prices will mount rapidly, perhaps again as high as \$3.35 per bushel for wheat and 32 cents per pound for cotton. Even at top figures the demand will be insatiable and American farmers will be presented with an opportunity to make up for long lean years of depression and tragedy.

If wheat and cotton are included in the list of war supplies which cannot be sold to belligerents, molten lava will pour down the aisles of congress as patriots boil over with indignation and passion. Even if wheat and cotton are not included in the category of proscribed shipments and farmers are permitted to sell but are warned that they do so at their own risk, an explosive situation is certain to arise. During a period of prolonged blockade, American cargoes are sure to be plunged to fathomless depths in the sea. As the losses to exporters soar and as the number of Americans murdered on the ocean increases, mass pressure on congress will be exerted in a holy crusade for the protection of American property and lives and honor.

### *An Informed Public Needed*

Multiply wheat and cotton by steel and coal and pork and scores of other basic commodities and a faint realization of the magnitude of the problem will dawn. In the present mood of the American people it will doubtless be possible to secure a comprehensive neutrality measure. The problem is to enforce it during the hysteria and madness of wartime.

If a prolonged war on a vast scale is waged in Europe or in Asia, the United States cannot keep out unless it adheres strictly to a comprehensive policy of

neutrality. And the likelihood that this will be done may be measured in direct ratio to the strength of the realistic and resolute peace movement which has been created in the meantime. Unless a substantial minority of the American people can be awakened, informed and organized for effective action in the hour of crisis, there is little possibility of keeping this nation out of war.

An asset of immeasurable value it at hand in the deep conviction which prevails generally throughout the United States that this country should stay out of war. If this desire can be made articulate and related to an effective program of political action, and if it can be organized in a permanent form, there is a chance that this country may avoid entanglement in a general war. But the time is short and the task is formidable.

For this reason the Emergency Peace campaign has been brought into existence. Through an extensive campaign this coalition of peace workers is seeking to awaken American people to the imminent peril of war, to create understanding of the issues involved, to exert pressures in behalf of peace legislation, and to organize a powerful minority of men and women who will devote themselves resolutely to the task of strengthening the international mind and heart and who will refuse to be stamped into the madness that is war.

#### *Emergency Peace Campaign*

The organization of a powerful war resisters' movement is essential if the United States is to be kept out of war. A million men and women compactly bound together in resolute determination to keep the peace and to refuse war service could exercise national influence utterly out of proportion to their number. All government policies are decided by minorities since the mass is inert and inarticulate. For this reason an organized minority of war resisters might turn the scale at the crucial hour when the government is deciding whether or not to take up arms. Moreover, such a body of citizens could help enormously in carrying forward the required program of education and in exerting political pressure.

Large numbers of men and women are reaching the conclusion that they cannot sanction or engage in any future war because of its futility and savagery. Many religious people are pointing out that even when participation in war is called defensive action, the required practices are utterly barbaric. Consider a defensive war on the part of the United States against Japan. Where would the conflict be waged if the American government had power to decide? Not in California or in Washington or in Oregon, but as close to Tokyo as possible. In our defensive war against Germany we sent troops across the ocean and attempted to reach Berlin.

What weapons would be used in defensive action against Japan? The blockade? Certainly! The blockade is hoary with respectability. We joined the allies in a blockade which tried to strangle Germany and did not relinquish this death-grasp until six months after the armistice was signed. Would American airmen

bomb Japanese cities if possible? Surely! Would we use poison gas and incendiary bombs? If not, why are we wasting money by maintaining a chemical warfare division of the United States army? American aviators did bomb German cities and there is no reason whatever to doubt that in waging defensive warfare against Japan flame and fume would if possible be rained on Yokahama and Osaka.

#### *What Is 'Defense'?*

On the floor of congress, Representative Colonel Charles I. Faddis unwittingly emphasized this truth when he said: "A very dangerous opinion regarding national defense is growing up in this country. Many have the idea that our armed forces should never leave our shores or waters to fight. . . . No plan of national defense could be more dangerous. . . . Wars have always been won in the territory of the enemy and can be won in no other manner. . . . If we must fight, let us have the destruction in the land of the enemy, not in our land."

This therefore is the question which the citizen devoted to peace must face: in seeking to defend my country, shall I take part in the wholesale massacre of men, women, and children whose conduct is no more reprehensible than that of the majority of my own countrymen? To reconcile such action with the teaching and example of Jesus is for many of us utterly impossible and we are thus obliged to choose between the way of Christ and the way of war. So this campaign is listing the pledges of those who say: We will never approve of or participate in any war.

#### *Only to Repel Invasion*

A single reservation is being made by many individuals in determining their attitude toward war. They are unwilling to approve of or to participate in war on foreign soil, but feel obliged to support the armed repelling of an actual invader of American soil. Probably a majority of American citizens at this moment are willing to say that they would refuse to sanction or engage in war in a foreign land. This fact should be recognized as one of the powerful assets of the movement to keep the United States out of war. If the multitudes who feel this way could be made articulate, they could turn the tide against war. It is of the utmost importance therefore that a nation-wide effort be made to persuade men and women in all walks of life to declare their determination not to approve or to participate in any war, or at least in any war except to repel invasion.

The Emergency Peace campaign is now promoting a national enrolment of persons who are willing to sign one alternative or the other of the following declaration:

I agree to take part in peace education and peace action directed toward the removal of the causes of war and the strengthening of pacific means of settling international controversies.

And as a further means of helping to prevent war, in company with many other individuals in all sections of the nation:

[Check A or B]

(A) I hereby record my mature and resolute determination never to approve of or participate in any war, except

to repel an unprovoked armed invasion of continental United States by a foreign foe.

(B) I hereby record my mature and resolute determination never to approve of or participate in any war.

This national enrolment is being sponsored by a distinguished company of churchmen. Every reader of these words can participate in this national enrolment and can widen its effectiveness. The Emergency Peace campaign is prepared to send free as many copies of the enrolment card as a person can use to good advantage. An interested individual may secure a dozen or a hundred or a thousand copies for circulation among the members of churches, students of colleges or high schools, members of labor unions, farmers' organizations, luncheon clubs, women's clubs, etc. Copies may be obtained free for distribution among friends at the office or in the shop. It is especially desirable that they be passed around at meetings of the American Legion and other veteran's associations, since many of these men are now determined not to support a foreign war.

Groups of concerned persons may make a systematic covering of residents in a given block or section of a city. Selected mailing lists may also be utilized in an endeavor to secure signatures by correspondence. An effective device is to have several influential citizens jointly sign an appeal for signatures. The declaration

itself may be printed in various publications with the suggestion that signatures be sent in.

#### Against Heavy Odds

Only those persons with superficial insight into the present world situation can be optimistic about the possibility of preventing war. The odds are heavily against us. Inaction and feeble efforts will not save us. Two courses of action are open—we may fold our hands in despair, or we may throw ourselves resolutely and courageously into the struggle to awaken, educate and organize a substantial minority of the American people. If we can build a peace movement with sufficient depth and breadth, we will be able to keep the United States out of war and make a worthy contribution to the preservation of world peace.

The national enrolment of peace workers probably offers the most effective device for sounding the alarm, carrying forward a campaign of education, and organizing for peace. Let the concerned reader, therefore send at once to the Emergency Peace Campaign, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, for any number of enrolment cards and without delay circulate them systematically among friends and members of various societies. No exemptions and no furloughs are permissible at this crucial hour!

## BOOKS

### An Omnibus of Psychiatry

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHIATRY. By William S. Sadler. C. V. Mosby Company, St. Louis, \$10.00.

ONE DOES NOT start to turn the pages of Dr. Sadler's most recent book until he has found a solid rest for this enormous volume, with its over twelve hundred pages. Then when he does begin to turn the pages, his eye catches references to an enormous number of matters and persons whom the author connects directly or indirectly with his "Theory and Practice of Psychiatry." Exploring attention locates here a short exposition of the philosophy of Nietzsche and there a brief section on identical twins, here Meyer's classification of mental disorders and there an explanation of clairvoyance, here the detailed account of the exhaustive routine examination given by the author to his patients, there a discussion of the harm done children through fairy tales and through toys made to resemble real objects; here two pages of Bible verses found helpful in dealing with over-anxious patients, and there a short chapter on involution melancholia. The attempted scope of the volume is prodigious. This is well-illustrated by the two hundred pages of Part II, "Personality Problems," which starts with a defining of personality, its classifications, and its sorts and techniques of maladjustment, and then proceeds to trace the individual through life from the nursery to full maturity discussing development, types, problems and treatment.

The book is directed, according to the author's statement, to the aim of awakening the general practitioner in medicine to the need of a vast number of non-institutionalized patients for psychiatric service, and of "supplying a helpful background for those wishing to become proficient in this field." But there is a second group whom the author has "also in mind," sociologists,

psychologists and other trained men and women. Further, he is "not altogether sure that even religious teachers, clergymen, priests and rabbis, together with trained nurses, might not become helpful channels . . . if they were better instructed . . . how more intelligently to cooperate with the psychiatrist."

The author purposed to set forth "the 'common-sense' methods of study and practice which the rank and file of the profession are well qualified to undertake if they are once delivered from the 'mystifications' of the multifarious teachings of the conflicting schools of psychiatry."

This last statement may explain the genially expansive and chatty, yet disorganized, style of much of the writing. This style may be an effort toward simplification, but one gets the impression rather continuously that, once the larger headings had been chosen, the material had been set down pretty much in the order it happened into the mind of the writer. The main divisions of the book are clear enough: Theory of Psychiatry, Personality Problems, the Neuroses, the Psychoses, and Therapeutics. But there is no consistent plan for presenting the material under the lesser headings. This requires more of the reader who approaches as a student than most will care to give.

More disturbing still to the person with background in this field will be many statements which are made. Two brief quotations will illustrate the type of these. "Every adolescent youth is compelled to make his way through a psychic jungle which has come down to him as a biologic inheritance from his primitive ancestors." "Reasoning is more related to dreaming (than temperament). . . . The chief function of reasoning is to justify our impulsive drives by means of these 'illusions' which we crave to call arguments—and that is simply rationalization."

# The Front Rank

OCTOBER 18, 1936



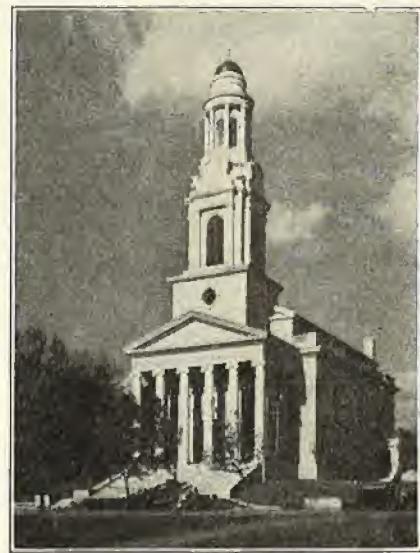
## A Noble Heritage

THE trail blazed from Barton W. Stone's Cane Ridge Revival in 1801 to the National City Church, symbolic of a brotherhood of world strength, bears the

mark of courageous leadership. In an age of narrow denominationalism the plea for unity in the ranks of Protestantism upon the simple yet profound basis of faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to New Testament principles struck a note for which many had been waiting. To mention the names of founding fathers—Barton W. Stone, John Smith, Thomas and Alexander Campbell, and Walter Scott—is to call forth memories of religious fervor, brilliant thinking, sparkling debate, and unlimited consecration.

The strength of a people is not in its leadership alone. The manner in which the Disciples of Christ have grown to more than a million and a half souls is a record of the ceaseless strivings of a great host to discover the message of Jesus for this world. Missionary enterprises, benevolence, Christian education, church erection and extension, and pensions have played a part in the majestic advance over more than a century.

What the future holds is dependent entirely upon the ability of the present membership to act courageously. World peace, racial and cultural brotherhood, social justice and Christian unity are goals that demand the full consecration of the whole church. These achievements will not come without payment of the full price. Only as the church forgets itself in the effort of taking "his cross" may it follow Christ to the gates of the Kingdom.



## Prayer Before Work

By Kenneth Irving Brown

**C**REATOR of work for the good of the souls of men, help us to find in our tasks this day those qualities of life which make for industriousness, dependability, manliness.

Grant that we may be true to the urge within us to do a full day's work, to carry the full share of the load which is ours. May we do it quietly, patiently, carefully, eagerly.

We would watch that we may do conscientiously both the small task and the large. We would not intentionally slight the duty that may seem unimportant. May that which we do be well done. Help us to consider the details of the task, that each part may be cared for and the whole well done.

As we labor, may we enjoy that consciousness that our work is a part of the work of the world—God grant that we may lay our hands to such tasks as are worthy of a place in the work program of the world! Help us to see above the routine and the monotony, help us look beyond the immediate duty which is ours until we see ourselves co-workers with millions of our fellow-men, in tasks which feed and house bodies and bring pleasure and comfort to men and strengthen minds and heal spirits.

We pray, our Father, for the assurance that we are working with thee, our God, for man, our brother.

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## Guide Posts

This issue of *Front Rank* is dedicated to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Department of Religious Education of the United Christian Missionary Society, A Board of Missions and Education. Throughout these pages will be found articles by the leaders of the missionary and religious education work of the brotherhood. Special attention should be given to these articles, for they contain statements about programs and materials which will be used during this church-school year.

Kirby Page is probably known to more people than any other member of the Disciples of Christ. His outstanding and courageous leadership in discovering Christian solutions for perplexing social problems has won him the admiration of the Christian world. He is the author of many books. *Living Creatively* and *Living Triumphant* are two of his latest volumes. In this issue he has written "Educating for the Kingdom of God."

Another story from the pen of Ruth Epperson Kennell will be welcomed by many readers. Its title is "Commencement."

With this issue *Front Rank* begins a series of articles on the findings of the Christian Youth Conference of North America. These will all appear under the title, "Christian Youth Building a New World."

Part one of this series, "Youth's Return to Personal Religion," has been written by Allan Hunter, who is minister of the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church in Los Angeles, California. His experiences in foreign missionary work, Y. M. C. A. conferences, and inter-racial groups have made him keenly aware of the importance of a personal relationship with God. Mr. Hunter was one of the leaders of the Christian Youth Conference. He is the author of several significant books and is always a welcome speaker in college and young people's groups.

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*Front Rank* opens its pages to many agencies which report to the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ. The representatives of these agencies assume responsibility for statements appearing under their names. Comments received on their articles are referred to them.

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# 1936 Educating for the Kingdom of God

By Kirby Page

CHRISTIAN education differs from secular education as Christianity differs from secularism. The purpose of Christian education is not adjustment to environment, but rather the transformation of the actual into the ideal. Nothing less than the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth is the goal: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." To the extent that the present social order falls short of or is contrary to the teaching and practice of Jesus, Christian education is compelled to condemn and seek to change. "Be not conformed to this world" is the continuing challenge to Christians, "but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds."

The basic principles by which any social system may be judged are easily stated: reverence for human personality, recognition of kinship with every other person, and the sovereignty of God. Love God, love your neighbor, and endeavor to create a community in which men may dwell together in mutual affection and mutual service.

We may be sure, therefore, that when we pray the Lord's Prayer and utter the petition, "Thy Kingdom come on earth," we are praying for the coming of a society in which there will be no artificial cleavages among human beings along lines of race, nationality, and class; no division of the community into rich and poor; no scramble for private gain under the drive of ruthless competition; no race of armaments and no slaughter on the battlefield.

When we pray the Lord's Prayer we are, therefore, praying for the ending of racial segregation and other aspects of the system which places individuals into categories of color and treats them accordingly; for the abolition of the extremes of luxury and poverty side by side; for the removal of the profit motive as the chief incentive in economic life; for the abandonment of military and naval preparedness and for the cessation of armed conflict.

Every Christian realizes that it is not enough to say, "Lord, Lord," while failing to do the things which he commands. It is not sufficient to pray for the coming of the Kingdom; Christians are called upon to work diligently and unceasingly toward this end. Conversion and nurture are two aspects of the same process of development toward the fullness of the measure of the stature of Christ. Evangelism and education are incomplete without each other. Commitment to Christ calls for understanding of his way of life. Entire surrender to the will of God is not possible unless we know what God's will calls for in terms of conduct in a given situation. Therefore Christian education must probe to the roots of the existing social order. To what extent is present-day nationalism contrary to the mind of Christ? In what ways does modern capitalism violate the principles of Jesus? Is it possible to reconcile Jim Crow cars and exclusion of Negroes from certain residential districts with the religion of Jesus? In the light of Jesus' challenge to love enemies, is a Christian justified in resorting to war?

IT was not accidental that concerning the early Christians the statement was made, "They that turn the world upside down have come here also." That is the nature of Jesus' religion, to turn upside down every so-

cial order which rests upon pagan foundations. And what could be more pagan than wholesale massacre of men, women, and children? Or the organization of production and distribution on a basis of ruthless competition, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, with the consequent transformation of industry into a jungle where the brute law of the survival of the savage prevails?

So long as we live in an imperfect and wicked society, Christian education must be education in nonconformity, training in refusal to accept prevailing standards and practices. It is easy for Americans to realize that education in support of ruthless extermination of Jews in Germany is not Christian education even though such instruction be given in a church; or that education in behalf of Italian conquest of Ethiopia is not Christian education even though given by a priest or clergyman. This generation also finds it easy to understand that education in support of chattel slavery by our grandfathers was not Christian education even though it came from high ecclesiastics.

THE time has come when we must also realize that Christian education must condemn, not support, capitalism and nationalism. Through all the channels of Christian education unceasing emphasis must be placed upon the pagan attitudes and practices which are inherent in the existing system. Nonconformity with capitalism and nationalism is the true relationship of the Christian church, and Christian education must work toward this end.

Inability to produce a blueprint of a perfect alternative to capitalism does not justify a Christian in supporting the existing economic order. It is the business of Christian education to search for ways and means of creating a cooperative equali-

tarian society in which personality will be revered, universal kinship will be recognized, and God will be worshiped and obeyed. If the Christian churches would once and forever proclaim the pagan character of capitalism and nationalism, and would refuse to sanction their continuation, there are a sufficient number of Christians to discover and apply ways and means of transforming by rapid stages the present social order into a cooperative commonwealth. Progress is obstructed by the blessing bestowed upon the war system and the competitive profit system by countless ministers and laymen of the churches. Conformity destroys the vitality of Christian education.

Nonconformity has always been dangerous. Innovators and pioneers have incurred the wrath of upholders of the *status quo*. It was for this reason that Jesus warned his disciples that the time would come when men in good conscience would kill them. The eleven and the seventy produced martyrs. In every age it has proved costly to follow Jesus.

Education which is truly Christian is difficult and perilous in the United States today. To be nonconformist means opposition and persecution. Christian educators, whether in a small Sunday school or in a Christian college, must therefore lay hold on courage. "If any man (or teacher) would come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me."



Kirby Page

the result in large measure of the policy pursued by the German Communists (I will not speak here of other causes or the mistakes of the German Socialists). The stupidity and irresponsibility of Communist policy in Germany consisted in the fact that instead of fighting Hitler the Communists fought the German Social Democrats. Instead of uniting all the forces of the working class and creating a united front of all available forces, including the democratic bourgeoisie, to the extent to which the latter still existed, for combatting fascism, the German Communists devoted all their energies to splitting the working class and thus they made impossible any unification of the working masses themselves and of the workers with the democratic elements of the country. Nay more: on many occasions they united directly with the Hitlerites in savage struggle against the "social fascists," as they liked to term the Social Democrats.

Quite different became the tactics of the French Communists when it developed, after February 6, 1934 (the day of the big fascist riots in Paris), that a reactionary-fascist movement was under way also in France. On February 6, the Communists still operated on the German model: they sent their followers into the streets to demonstrate together with the fascists against the democratic government and against the Socialists. But suddenly there was a change. Instead of continuing to follow in the footsteps of the German Communists, Stalin's disciples in France (acting on direct orders from Stalin) changed their course.

#### Communists Retreat

They ceased their stupid talk about "social-fascism." They came to those whom heretofore they had branded as "social-fascists" with a proposal for a united front, without making any conditions, declaring, on the contrary that they were ready to accept all the conditions of the Socialists! Nor did they demand that the united front be revolutionary in character, although this had been their demand on hundreds of previous occasions. Their practical program was, first, defense—in France—of bourgeois democracy (democratic liberties), support of any democratic government, even though it be bourgeois, engaged in fighting fascism; second, and this was the most important feature of the Communist program, energetic support of the proposal for a political, diplomatic and military alliance between France and Russia.

Because of the fact that the capitalist-democratic parties are still the dominant political force in France, the Communists have, for the time being, abandoned everything that might displease or annoy the ruling capitalist parties

has been in force for more than a year. To put it more precisely: there are now two working class parties in France, with the broad masses, and even the working masses, unable to detect the difference between them. The two parties act together. They arrange joint demonstrations. They march together at the polls. They even vote together in parliament and, publicly at least, they engage in no acrimonious controversies. The difference between the two parties, so far as practical politics is concerned, seems to have disappeared, and the public cannot understand why the one is called Communist and the other Socialist.

To be sure, the public perceives that there are some theoretical differences between the two, that the two parties differ in their *weltanschauung*, that there used to be differences in their platforms, that they belong to different internationals. But so far as purposes of propaganda among the masses are concerned, the important element is not in theoretical and historical differences but in the practical acts performed by the two parties from day to day. And the practical action of both parties has been the same for nearly a year.

This would seem to indicate that there is no longer any need for the existence of two parties, and that, logically speaking, there is now but one thing to do: to transform the united front from a temporary alliance into a permanent union, i.e. to unite into one party, that is, "organic unity."

Such is the situation as it appears to French public opinion from the outside.

#### Were There Losses?

Some comrades perceive a danger so far as the future of the Socialist Party is concerned in the losses which the party is supposed to have suffered in the last communal elections. This is erroneous, because in reality the Socialist Party suffered no losses. In Paris and vicinity the Communists elected many more deputies to the communal councils and local administrations than the Socialists. But this is not to say that the Socialists lost, rather, the Communists registered greater gains than the Socialists in the area in and about Paris. It must be remembered, however, that before the elections the Socialist Party had passed through two splits—to the right and to the left. If we compare the present number of Socialist deputies not with the number previous to the splits but with that after the splits we will see that there have been no losses. It is a fact, however, that the Communists have gained and that the Socialists have stood still.

To be sure, this is a fact only in Paris and vicinity. In the provinces, particularly in the industrial centers of France, the gains of the Communists have been slight, while

# PROPERTY By Kirby Page

## Three Aspects of the Problem of Revolutionizing the Capitalist System of Property and Bringing About Socialism



If a person is to be free to reach his destination safely and quickly, he must preserve this liberty through collectivism in the form of traffic rules and regulations. Personal safety in a metropolitan community can

chen of life and thereby denies them maximum opportunity of appropriating the values of library, conservatory, chapel and living room.

### How Shall Property Be Socialized?

If private property in the basic industries is to be replaced by public ownership without civil war, the transfer must be made by purchase, not by confiscation. Under the long-established right of eminent domain, private property may be taken for public use upon the payment of a just price. Present

owners will be paid in bonds, based upon the value of the industry being socialized, and yielding a fair return for a fixed period of time, say thirty years. This

means that small investors—specifically, the widows and orphans about whom we hear so much—will not be defrauded of their source of income, but will be afforded increased security of income. In the case of heavy investors, a substantial share of the income received from bonds of socialized industries will be taken back in taxation—income, luxury, excess profits, and inheritance taxes. And let the fact be emphasized that taxation is not confiscation, but an orthodox, constitutional procedure, 100 per cent American in nature. Any time the people of this country so desire they

can make it legally impossible for any citizen to receive an income of more than \$20,000 or any other specified amount.

**Education and Organization**

There are three aspects to the process by which the present property system may be revolutionized: evangelism, education, organization. Attitudes and loyalties must be shifted, minds must be illumined, and social pressure must be exerted. Conversion from a selfish struggle for special privilege to cooperative action in behalf of the common welfare is desperately needed. Illumination concerning the inherent weaknesses and vices of economic individualism and concerning the superior advantages of cooperative collectivism is urgently required. Workers must be organized in national unions, consumers in national cooperative societies, and voters in a national political party. The basic industries will be socialized by national legislation authorizing their purchase and creating authority for the establishment of boards of directors of the various socialized industries. Whether the present owners will resist with armed force this process of socialization is a subject upon which there are vigorous differences of opinion. My own conviction is that if the transfer cannot be made without civil war, it cannot be made at all, and that there is a reasonable probability that, if the government is supported by a considerable majority of citizens and if it is reinforced by a powerful labor movement and cooperative movement, the change may be brought about without armed resistance from the owning class.

**IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT**

Turn to the theatrical page for the detailed announcement

The Theatre Alliance  
Sam Jaffe

and many others prominent in and authoritative on the theatre will contribute their interpretations.

Arthur Hopkins  
James Cagney  
Edward G. Robinson  
Katherine Cornell  
The Theatre Union  
The Theatre Guild  
The Group Theatre

of the forthcoming symposium in THE NEW LEADER on the theatre as a social force.

the Socialist press protesting mildly against particularly savage outbursts of terror in Soviet Russia. Not a single sharp of extended criticism of Russian bolshevism and the conduct of the Soviet regime has appeared in the French Socialist press during this entire year. On the other hand, the Socialist press has been publishing in increasing measure and frequency official Soviet material, unaccompanied by any explanatory or critical articles.

Still worse is the situation with regard to public meetings arranged jointly by the Socialists and Communists. The Communists come to these meetings in organized masses and stage raucous demonstrations for Stalin and the Soviet regime. They fill the halls with cries for the Soviet regime and turn every meeting into a demonstration for Russian bolshevism. And what can the Socialists do under such circumstances? Can they bring their own banners and placards assailing Stalin? In the atmosphere of alleged fraternity that is supposed to dominate these joint meetings this would be quite impossible. As questions concerning Soviet Russia are likewise avoided by the French Socialists at their own meetings, French Socialism has lost its own countenance on the question of bolshevism, its own position on the question of Stalinism, and has become the tail to French Communism.

With respect to internal and external French policy the united front in France is distinctly right wing in character. But it gives the appearance of being left wing because outwardly it is colored entirely in Stalinist hues.

The Socialists are not very happy about it but they are keeping quiet. And this, in my opinion, is the great mistake which has placed the French Socialist Party in an extremely dangerous position.

#### Socialism vs. Bolshevism

The recent conference of the Socialist Party has demonstrated that despite the noisy agitation of the party's revolutionary left wing the party remains firmly on the ground of democratic Socialism. The resolutions of the Trotskyists, the most extreme leftists, and of the leftist Zhdanov group obtained few votes. Almost two-thirds of the delegates voted for the moderate Faure-Severac-Labat resolution, representing the position termed in Europe "democratic centrism." This is the tendency that does not confine itself to reformist and parliamentary measures and action and does not repudiate the necessity, under certain circumstances, of revolutionary measures, but seeks to bind these tactics with the will of the majority of the people. This is the position occupied in the Labor and Socialist International by Vandervelde and Fritz Adler, Otto Bauer and Leon Blum. It remains the position of the overwhelming major-

ties, however, as soon as they stopped making their former mistakes, the conflict between Socialism and Communism became essentially a conflict of ideas. To achieve victory in this conflict the Socialists must take a position with respect to all problems of Socialist world policy, and this includes also the problem of Soviet Russia.

A Socialist Party, particularly a Socialist party which has entered into a united front with the Communists, can maintain its existence as the spokesman of an independent tendency only when it makes clear its hostility to the dark aspects of the Bolshevik experiment. For on no other question is it possible to emphasize so clearly as on the question of Soviet Russia and bolshevism the principles of Social Democracy as against the bolshevist principle of a minority dictatorship imposed and maintained by force. A Socialist Party that keeps silent on the question of Russia for the sake of "politics" or with the deliberate intention of avoiding clarity eventually ends in suicide.

This is precisely the position into which the French Socialist Party has permitted itself to fall. Because of its failure to develop an independent policy, because it has dodged the question of Soviet Russia, because it has failed to show the masses the difference between the Socialists and the Communists there is now but one alternative open to it: organic unity with the Communist Party or abandonment of the united front and resumption of open struggle against Communism.

For a time it appeared that the French Socialists would take the second road. There were indications that the French Communists themselves were growing tired of the united front and no longer desired united action. A "divorce" of the two parties appeared impending and it was expected they would return to an independent existence. But it appears now that Stalin disapproved of that, and as the results of the recent elections were advantageous to the Communists they may be expected to continue the united front, which is tantamount to a capitulation of their party, but constitutes so far as the outside world is concerned a capitulation of the Socialists to Stalin.

The Socialists are handcuffed by the policy of the Communists, by Stalin's policy. And they will remain handcuffed, with their internal difficulties continuing, until they get up sufficient courage to reassess the intellectual freedom of which Leon Blum spoke a year ago, while retaining the united front for purposes of internal French politics, as far as this may prove possible. And this means that the French Socialist Party must take a clear position with respect to Russian bolshevism and all problems of international Socialism.

(Continued next week.)

# 1915 If War Is Sin--!

The Churches are saying war is sin. So what?

By KIRBY PAGE

**I**F war is sin, therefore—what? What are the implications of the idea that war is sin? I suggest the following:

1. The agencies of religious education should teach that, since war is sin, no Christian may legitimately engage in it. The true believer has no more choice in the matter, if this premise is sound, than with regard to any other notorious sin. Deliberate sinning is not a privilege of a follower of Jesus Christ. It is not a matter to be left to one man's conscience. Conscience is a reliable guide only when it is enlightened and sensitive. On that famous journey to Damascus, Saul of Tarsus was entirely conscientious in his purpose to kill Christians, but he nevertheless was engaged in a sinful passion. Murder that is committed conscientiously is still murder.

2. If war is sin, no candidate for ordination to the ministry of the Christian church who professes a willingness to sanction war or to participate in it should be accepted as a minister of the Prince of Peace.

3. If war is sin, official chaplains of religion should be withdrawn from this sinful business, and arrangements made for serving soldiers and sailors in non-official and non-sinful ways. The assertion is frequently made that a minister of Christ should be willing to go anywhere that sinners are in need of redemption. Many a clergyman disposes of this question of the chaplaincy by saying that he would gladly preach in a saloon in order to save souls, and

that acting as an army chaplain does not involve approval of war any more than preaching in a saloon carried with it approval of the liquor business.

Let me put the matter this way: Should a clergyman, in order to preach in a saloon, be willing to put on the bartender's apron, accept a salary from the owner of the saloon, and obey orders from the liquor dealer? A military chaplain is an official part of the army, wears an army uniform, receives his salary from the war department, and must obey orders of his superior officers. The message that a chaplain may proclaim to soldiers is subject to strict censorship from army officials. No chaplain would long be permitted to tell soldiers that war is sin and that they are sinners for engaging in it.

To the assertion that the war department would not permit unofficial representatives of the churches to serve soldiers, the rejoinder should be made that the war department is subject to control by the civilian authorities, and that in a democratic country citizens are responsible for public policies.

4. If war is sin, young Christians should be taught that they must not take military training in high school or college. The reserve officers training corps is an organic part of the war department. If the entire war system constitutes a method which is utterly anti-Christian, it follows that the various parts of that system stand condemned. The primary purpose of military training is training for war and by this central objective the R. O. T. C. must be tested. It is not enough for churches to tell students that they will stand by conscientious objectors to military training. They must go further and declare that a true Christian must refuse to take instruction in killing other human beings.

5. If war is sin, the churches must advocate total disarmament and must cease to place any reliance whatever in armed preparedness against other nations. If war is irreconcilable with the way of Christ, then it is not enough to reduce armaments; they must be entirely abolished. The validity of this conclusion cannot be overthrown by questions concerning the desirability of disbanding all police forces within a nation. The war system and the police system are not truly analogous, and the churches are not on record as holding the conviction that the police system is a sin. It is the method of war, not that of restraint or coercion, that is pronounced sin by many religious assemblies.

6. If war is sin, the churches should demand a friendly and co-operative foreign policy on the part of their government. Such highly provocative acts as the way in which

[Continued on page 56]



A GRAPHIC PICTURE OF U. S. EXPENDITURES, 1920

## The Sins of War

[Continued from page 4]

### "Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness"

EFFECTIVE war cannot be waged without first inflaming the imaginations of all citizens with lies and false stories of an atrocious enemy. When we entered the World War our President expressed hope that these lurid stories would not be used on our people. But we had been at war only a few months before fabricated atrocity stories cropped out in the speeches of our patriotic orators, and ghastly cartoons on every fence called to us to buy liberty bonds.

Today the children of France and Germany hear incredibly evil things about their national enemies, not because those who teach them also believe them, but because they realize it is the only way these schoolboys may be persuaded to carry on the wars of the future. Loyalty and honor, which are gentle virtues, have been exploited to turn men into savage killers. For in war the highest and finest in man is perverted to evil ends. War exalts a man beyond himself, makes of him a superman for heroic deeds. Such magnificent exaltation must find its fitting end to the service of man and the glory of God. The love of home and country, sacrifice and service to God have been twisted into excuses which send young men out to butcher and be butchered.

### Sin—Missing the Mark—The Sin of Lower Aim

A GRAPHIC revelation of waste is laid to the account of war by Dr. Frank Crane when he says: "If the money which the World War cost were brought together in silver dollars, and these dollars were placed edge to edge, they would lap around the world 236 times; they would belt the earth at the Equator with a silver girdle twenty-nine feet wide; piled one on top of the other, they would reach one and two-thirds times the distance to the moon; rolled into rails, they would make a railroad twice around the Equator; divided equally among the entire population of the globe, they would allow each human being \$170.00."

If every home in America, every business building and factory, every church and school, every coal mine and oil well, every orchard, plantation, and farm—every piece of real property in America—were destroyed, and we had to begin all over again, we still should not have lost as much as the world lost as the result of its maniacal folly. And the end is not yet. In Ohio, in Connecticut, in Alabama, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, in Japan, in Australia, in Cuba—all over the world, men are without work, children are denied adequate schooling, the very foundations of cultured modern living are weakened because of the wreck of the economic system occasioned by war. War has

wasted our substance, has mortgaged the future of our children's children.

### Lost to Our Town

IT remains the outstanding proof of the insanity of the nations that governments which cannot or will not abolish slums, conquer poverty, and end illiteracy and all epidemic plagues, can devote such vast sums to homicidal mania of war and to preparation for it. According to Nicholas Murray Butler, with the money spent in the World War we could have built a \$2,500 house, furnished it with \$1,000 worth of furniture, placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre, and given this home to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. We could have given to each city of 20,000 inhabitants and over in each country named a \$5,000,000 library and a \$10,000,000 university. Out of what was left we could have set aside a sum at five per cent that would provide a \$1,000 yearly salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and a like salary for another army of 125,000 nurses.

In spite of this great cost, the World War accomplished nothing, settled no important issue, heralded no great step forward for humanity. Sin never does. Instead of ending war, the World War brings forth its fruit in hatred, fear, armaments, more war. War is sin.

### We Renounce War Ways

WHAT have we who seek to do the Father's will to do with such an evil? For our sins we must beg mercy and pardon; we must seek to make restitution, to undo our wrongs. Our repentance will be made known as we lead a new life hereafter. Ours is a God of love, whose messengers bring peace. We shall have no part in war. We shall follow ways of peace. We shall build peace ways, customs, and institutions serving our good will to man. We follow the Prince of Peace.

## If War Is Sin—!

[Continued from page 5]

Japanese immigrants are excluded from the United States should be remedied. The practice of sending American troops into foreign countries for the protection of American property and life should be abandoned. Our citizens should be warned that when they go abroad they must abide by the laws of other lands and run the risks inherent in living in another country. Instead of engendering suspicion, fear, and enmity, as does a race of armaments, the churches should seek to create understanding, appreciation, and good will among the nations. This procedure offers more security than can be achieved by armaments.

7. If war is sin, the churches must seek to create public opinion in behalf of international agencies of justice as alternatives to armed hostilities. Modern science and industrialism have multiplied contacts of peoples to such an extent that occasions of controversy have increased enormously. Therefore it is a matter of life and death for civilization that pacific methods of settling international quarrels be strengthened. The League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor organizations constitute steps in the direction of an international peace system.

8. If war is sin, the churches should seek to transform the economic and political systems out of which war emerges. If the churches can disentangle themselves from the war system, they will then be in a position to exert terrific pressure to keep governments out of war.

Shall Christians pay taxes? The charge is frequently made that pacifists who desire the churches to break completely with the war system, even to the extent of withdrawing official army chaplains, are themselves inconsistent if they continue to pay taxes to a government which is committed to armed preparedness. Arguments of this character are so often used to obscure the duty of the churches in relation to war that it is imperative that we come to grips with this charge. My own position can be stated briefly. I pay taxes because I am not an anarchist. If government is to be maintained, it must be supported by taxation. If a Christian refuses to pay taxes to a government which follows anti-Christian practices, he will be compelled to refrain from supporting government until a perfect state is ushered in, because it is obvious that all existing governments fall far short of the Christian standard.

Adherence to the policy of armed preparedness is only one of many practices now being followed by the government of the United States to which true Christians must be opposed. Shall they therefore refuse to pay taxes? If they do pay, they become indirectly involved in the evil practices of government. About this there can be no question. But it must be obvious to any thoughtful person that it is impossible to dwell in a pagan community without being involved indirectly in its evil deeds. When a nation is at war, an individual who raises potatoes which are consumed by soldiers becomes a party to the war. But surely there is a vast difference between producing food and running a bayonet through a fellow-man. This is another way of emphasizing the wide gulf between direct and indirect responsibility. To pay taxes and protest against the money being used for war purposes is not the same in principle or in fact as to take up weapons of battle.

More than a dozen years have now passed

since General Bliss said bluntly: "The responsibility for another war is entirely upon the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and every dollar wastefully expended." The churches have sufficient power to make it impossible for the government to wage war. The least, therefore, that they can do is to renounce war as sin and to act continuously upon the assumption that no Christian can consistently engage in it for any purpose whatsoever.—*Adapted, by permission, from the Christian Century, January 9, 1935.*

## My Practice of Prayer

*I Continued from page 71*

myself between those things that are small enough for me to achieve unaided and those in which I acknowledge myself helpless. God's standards, as he looks down, may be so different from my own! As I have stepped on into the experience of petition, I have gradually come to ask God's assistance for everything, great and small, for as I progress in association with the All-powerful, I feel myself less and less able to accomplish anything without him. Someone who knew has assured us that the Unseen knows the number of the very hairs upon one's head. Surely, then, I need not feel that there can be any request too petty for his attention. On the days when I feel most helpless, almost always I achieve most, so that I have come to feel that this sense of insufficiency must be the ideal condition of prayer.

Now I know that to many people this surrender of my spirit will seem repugnant, beneath human dignity. But, just between us, I am not much impressed by human dignity. I have very little confidence in my own abilities except as buttressed and reinforced by what I believe to be a divine assistance. Nor am I a bit more impressed by human dignity as I observe its manifestations in others. People who obviously go on their own power don't seem to me half so competent as they try to be. Often they appear to me to strut or to limp, whether they are found in high places or in the lowlier walks of life. I don't honestly see that any of us are so very impressive except as we walk accompanied by God, so I'm not a bit ashamed to say that I seek help in prayer every hour. Which is more desirable as a way of living, to betray a haughty inadequacy as the keen contemptuous eyes of our fellows search us out, or to walk free and straight conscious only of our all-powerful and all-absorbing Companionship?

God's creation of us in his image is a most slow and patient process, not accomplished in a moment, an hour, a lifetime. God's purpose for us is that we voluntarily

become spiritual, like himself. It is his divine method to let us share our own creation into spiritual beings, and the process of that self-creation is the voluntary exercise of faith. We find ourselves meshed in flesh and set in a physical world. We grow by guessing that there are unseen realities back of all that we see, we advance by adventuring that there is a directing God whose purpose for this bewildering universe it is our privilege to embody. The Christian believes far more than this; namely, that, at an actual date and in an actual place, God himself once assumed human flesh, and by the example of his life and the teaching of his lips revealed to us what rules to follow in building upon earth a visible commonwealth after the pattern of the invisible. It is all a magnificent guesswork advance held out to all who dare to accept the challenge. We are mysterious spirit-beings, permitted for a time a sojourn in an equally mysterious physical world, perhaps providing all the beauty, all the aspiration of which we are for the time being capable. Our ultimate perfecting may depend on our reverence for this earth-life with all its unsearched possibilities, and for ourselves as student-pilgrims set to learn earth's lessons.

God has more faith in us than we have yet attained either in ourselves or in him. Because he created us, he knows our capacities still encircled within us like hardly perceptible seeds, yet ultimately invincible, like seeds. Now, when a son emerges from babyhood into strength, there is nothing a human father so desires as that son's co-operation with himself in some high shared enterprise. God feels the same way as he watches us grow. He can hardly wait for the moment when we shall help him in our creation of ourselves and in our creation of a world in which his will shall be done.

As I look into life and into lives, as far as I can see, the kind of sons God wants and the kind of world God wants have a mysterious interrelation. The New Order will be only an ephemeral structure, requiring to be razed again and again, unless it is built by men who recognize themselves as God's sons and seek to co-operate with him in his conjectured purpose. And equally we cannot recognize ourselves as sons of God until we have enlisted as builders of his New Order. In other words, you cannot accept the reality of God and then sit still within that happy assurance. Instead you must look outward and search for your workman's niche in the uprising cathedral of the Christ-commonwealth. You must dedicate to that new structure your voice, your vote, your bravest personal responsibility to express the public conscience, or else your sense of personal communion with God will slowly fade away. It is God's rule for human evolution to build it, and at the same time we can equip ourselves to build it only by building.

Prayer is the practical method of equipping ourselves to be builders with God of his new world. The fundamental requirement for an advancing self-creation and for an enduring world-creation is that we become convinced that we are really spiritual beings though clothed in physical form. This is a conviction not attained overnight or by any reciting of charmed words. It is a process of realization so slow that we cannot set a limit to it. Surely there can be no more immediate and reliable way of proving to ourselves that we are spiritual beings than by praying. We call out into black space, "Father, help us!" And out of black space help comes. Over and over and over and over, help comes, until there can be no peradventure of doubt. He is actually there, the Father of all men. He answers. We can co-operate with the Unseen!

Prayer, definite, concrete supplication, is far removed from any coercing of God to our will, rather it is the releasing of God's will for us. In high compliment to us he does not throw his gifts in our faces, but in what unthinkable yearning he must desire us to express our longings so that he may satisfy them! Because prayer is a spiritualizing process, inevitably our supplications become more spiritual as we progress, so that we are less and less likely to ask either for ourselves or for others material benefits, but rather opportunities to become Christlike.

God does not think in our language—language narrowed to the mortal and the temporal. Yet when God sometimes takes back to himself some beautiful child lent for the everlasting quickening of our faith in human possibilities, what hideous accusations of cruelty we dare to utter! As if God's actions were not timed to eternity! As if that child's destiny were confined to the cramped possibilities of an earth-life! In all praying we have to remember that God does not think in terms of the finite, as we do. Whether God grants our requests or refuses them, those who believe ourselves his children are confident that he is choosing the course which best fits his ultimate intentions both for us and for his kingdom on earth.

**I** PRAY first because I believe that prayer is God's chosen method for all human advance, God's chosen way of releasing his purposes through us, the earthen vessels of his accomplishment. My second reason for praying is that Jesus prayed and commanded his followers to pray. I have been in no way coerced to allegiance to Jesus of Galilee; but since I have deliberately chosen that loyalty to him shall govern my every thought and action, then prayer is for me an inescapable obligation. I must pray in order that I may discover for myself by imitation what Jesus evidently discovered in prayer. I am convinced from watching him that

*The*  
**CHRISTIAN  
CENTURY,**  
*A Journal of Religion*

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**Harlem's God**

Edwin T. Buehrer

**Shall We Sign the Pacifist  
Pledge?**

**No!** By Ernest Hatch Wilkins

**Yes!** By Kirby Page

**A National Preaching  
Mission  
An Editorial**

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15 Cents a Copy

• December 11, 1935

• Four Dollars a Year

## In This Issue

ERNEST HATCH WILKINS is president of Oberlin college, before whose student body he originally presented the argument contained in his present article. President Wilkins, to whom a copy of Mr. Page's article was sent with the offer of space for a rejoinder, has asked the privilege of resuming the discussion at a later date. Meanwhile, readers of *The Christian Century* will certainly want to have their say with regard to the issues raised.

## KIRBY PAGE

is an inevitable choice to present the point of view opposing that held by President Wilkins, for Mr. Page has been visiting schools and colleges for years in behalf of exactly such individual commitments to the absolute pacifist position as Dr. Wilkins warns against. Mr. Page is, of course, known to all readers as one of the contributing editors of *The Christian Century* and an outstanding leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and many other organizations dealing with religious and political problems. A suggestion that a pledge to absolute pacifism may require still further definition may be found underlying the letter from Sherwood Eddy, Mr. Page's famous associate, printed on page 1594.

## EDWIN T. BUEHRER

is minister of the Congregational church at Haworth, N. J.

## Many Inquiries

have been received from subscribers concerning the issuance of Christmas cheques, in accordance with the former custom of *The Christian Century*, this year. The publishers are happy to announce that the Christmas cheques are being mailed this week to all subscribers. If there is delay in delivery, an inquiry addressed to the business office will bring a special supply immediately.

# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

December 11, 1935

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## Calendar of Coming Events

Dec. 10. National consumers' league luncheon, New York city.

Dec. 14, 15. Conference on high cost of living, New York city.

Dec. 18. Welcome meeting for Dr. Kagawa, First Baptist church, Oakland, Cal.

Dec. 19. Welcome meeting for Dr. Kagawa, Los Angeles, Cal.

Dec. 22. Chicago Sunday evening club; speaker, Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

Dec. 22. Ford Hall forum, Boston; speaker, George E. Sokolsky.

Dec. 27, 28. National conference of theological students, Butler university, Indianapolis.

Dec. 28. Young people's convention, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Dr. Kagawa program, Memphis, Tenn.

Dec. 28-Jan. 1. Student volunteer movement quadre convention, Indianapolis.

Dec. 29. Ford Hall forum, Boston; speakers, representatives of the Oxford group.

Dec. 29. Chicago Sunday club; speaker, Dr. R. Brown.

Dec. 29-Jan. 1. Federal seminar on cooperative Kagawa on program.

Dec. 30, 31. American Philosophical association, land, O.

Dec. 31-Jan. 3. Fourth Southern Baptist conference, Birmingham.

Jan. 3-5. Third U. S. against war and fast land, Ohio.

Jan. 5. Chicago Sunday club; speaker, Dr. Temple, archbishop Eng.

Jan. 6. Union ministering, demonstration music by H. Augustus and Boston univers Boston, Mass.

Jan. 6. Indianapolis mission, Roberts Park dist church, Indianapolis.

Jan. 6. Baptist leadership school, first of six nights, Indianapolis.

Jan. 6-12. Week of Prayer.

Jan. 7-9. General mission council, Methodist Episcopal church, south, Wash D. C.

Jan. 13-17. Home Missions cials, including National conference on the rural church (Oct. 15-17), Washington, D. C.

Jan. 14-16. Baptist state convention of Florida, Arcadia, Fla.

Jan. 14-16. Midwest conference of Methodist federation for social service, Evanston, Ill.

Jan. 21-23. Conference on cause and cure of war, Washington, D. C.

Jan. 31. Y.W.C.A. annual meeting.

Feb. 3-5. Indiana state pastors conference, First Baptist church, Indianapolis, Ind.

Feb. 3-7. Ministers' week, Chicago Theological seminary, including the Alden-Tuthill lectures, by Dr. Arthur E. Morgan of the TVA.

Feb. 6, 7. Illinois council of religious education, Dr. Kagawa speaker, Peoria, Ill.

Feb. 10. Union ministers meeting, Dr. Kagawa speaker, 2:30 p.m. 6:30 p.m. Laymen's dinner, Chicago.

Feb. 11. Mass meeting for women, Dr. Kagawa speaker, 2:30 p.m. 5:30 p.m. Kagawa fellowship dinner, Chicago.

Feb. 12. Dinner meeting for youth, Chicago, Dr. Kagawa speaker, 6:00 p.m.

Feb. 10-12. Meeting of International council of religious education, Dr. Kagawa speaker, Chicago.

Feb. 17-19. Dr. Kagawa of Japan, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.

Feb. 22. Dr. Kagawa of Japan, Duluth, Minn.

Feb. 28. Indianapolis council of Federated church women, world day of prayer for missions, Roberts Park Methodist church, Indianapolis, Ind.

# Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? No!

By Ernest Hatch Wilkins

THE CALL to a nation-wide student mobilization for peace on or before Armistice day, issued over the names of several national student organizations, suggests a fourfold program, of which the fourth feature is to challenge students "to refuse to support the government of the United States in any war it may undertake." The attempt to get students to take such a pledge is not new, but it is being made at this time on the basis of a wider sponsorship than it has previously received. Under these circumstances you may well be perplexed, and it has seemed to me that I owe it to you to try to help clear up that perplexity.\*

The attempt to get students to take such a pledge springs—largely, at least—from a desire to help prevent and suppress war. That desire I share intensely, as I think we all do; but it does not follow that we should give adherence to any and every particular plan which is proposed as a means to this end. Some plans are good; some are merely futile; some tend to defeat the very end they seek. No matter how passionate our desire for peace may be, neither our own passion nor anyone else's passion should sweep away our judgment. If ever there was a problem calling for the keenest and most searching and most persistent judgment of which the human mind is capable, that problem is the infinitely difficult and terribly critical problem of war and peace.

## *Implications in Pledge-Taking*

No pledge, whether written or oral, ought to be taken unless one fully realizes its implications and is resolved to keep it at any cost. To take a pledge without realizing its implications is unintelligent; to take a pledge without the resolve to keep it at any cost is despicable.

The proponent of a pledge acts in general upon the principle that if, prior to a crisis, he can get people to promise that they will act in a certain way when the crisis comes, some of them, at least, when the crisis does come will act in a way in which they might not have acted if they had been free to choose their course of action. And the pledge salesman on a college campus usually applies the common and obvious devices of campus salesmanship. It is hard to refuse to sign when you are urged to sign by a specifically persuasive man or an inherently persuasive girl. Under pressure, students tend to "fall for" signature altogether too easily.

The contribution of a college man or woman to the cause of peace ought not to be casual, or just an easy way of escape from pressure. The contribution of the college man or woman to the cause of peace ought, at least, to be honest, and, at least, to be intelligent.

\*This article contains the substance of an address delivered by President Wilkins before a student assembly at Oberlin college.

What, now, are the real implications of the proposed pledge?

Let me point out, first, that it goes far beyond the refusal to bear arms. To refuse to support the government in any war it may undertake involves refusal, for instance, to engage in any form of camp labor, in any medical, nursing, or welfare service, in any agricultural or industrial production or any transportation related to anything to be used by the armed forces, or in any program of voluntary or compulsory financial support. The extension of the pledge beyond mere bearing of arms is logical enough. Even in the last war support of some kind was sought from almost the entire population. The next war, if it comes, will be totalitarian, both in its air-menace and in the extent of the support which the government will demand. This is, of course, an added reason why we should do our utmost to prevent the next war, and an added reason why that endeavor should be intelligent.

## *To Register or Not to Register*

Let us next suppose that one of you men should now take the pledge, with the resolution to keep it at any cost. And suppose that ten years from now the United States should enter into a state of war with some other country. Immediately the draft would again go into effect, and every man of fighting age would be ordered to register at a certain time and place. You would then have two courses before you.

You might refuse to register. In that case a government official would be calling on you in a very short time. He would ask you why you did not register. And if you should answer, "When I was a sophomore in college I promised that I would not support the government in any war it might undertake," that answer would not get very far with him. You would find yourself very soon, if you were lucky, in a concentration camp, or, if you were less lucky, in a federal prison.

Or you might register. But in that moment you would pass from civilian to military jurisdiction. You might conceivably be exempted from the actual bearing of arms. That would probably be the case if you were a member of a recognized religious group, such as the Society of Friends, for whom the refusal to fight is an essential element in a long accepted body of doctrine. But governmental respect even for this position is a matter of custom, not of statute. And that respect has never extended, and would probably never extend, to exemption from manual or other labor in support of the armed forces. If, being under military jurisdiction, you should refuse to obey orders, even though those orders had reference merely to labor about the camp, you would be liable to court martial—and court martials may order imprisonment or death.

No man has the right to take the proposed pledge unless he is ready to undergo such experience.

Let us next suppose that one of you women should now take the pledge, with the resolution to keep it at any cost: It would, of course, mean that you could not engage in war work of any kind whatsoever, nursing, Red Cross work, Y.W.C.A. work, sewing, knitting, conserving food, replacing absent men in industry, serving in any one of the numberless auxiliary activities. It is perfectly possible that if war were to come in ten years the draft would extend to you not, presumably, for military action, but for active participation in some type of auxiliary service. If such participation is merely voluntary and you refuse it, you would face an ostracism which would be the moral equivalent of tar and feathers. If such participation is commanded and you refuse it, you too would face, at the least, a concentration camp—to which you would hardly be allowed to take your children.

No woman has the right to take the proposed pledge unless she is ready to undergo such experience.

If any man or woman, recognizing such implications and resolved to bear the cost, nevertheless takes the pledge, he or she has my respect. But this I believe—and I am no cynic, least of all where you are concerned: it is a terrible thing to say, but knowing as I do, and as you do not, the tremendous pressure to conform, the tornadic, octopian pressure to conform, which comes with entrance into war, I believe that of those who might now take the pledge deliberately and resolutely not one in ten would keep it under the fierceness of that strain. This again is an added reason why we should do our utmost to prevent the next war—and an added reason why that endeavor should be intelligent. And though I should respect any man or woman who might now take the pledge deliberately and resolutely, I should have far greater respect for one who, when the crisis came, might refuse to participate not because he had taken a pledge years before, but because, in the face of the crisis, his own matured conviction, sovereign and unimpaired, might lead him to believe that he could not do otherwise.

#### *Pledges and Peace*

I have said that I should respect a man who takes the pledge with full recognition of its implications and full readiness to bear the cost: I should respect him, but I should think that he was grievously mistaken, and that the effect of his action would be not to further but to hamper the achievement of peace. Bad as war is, mankind has been faced, and may yet be faced, with the choice between war and some condition which is even worse than war.

It seems a dreadful thing to accord support to any type of war. All war is horrible. There are types of war which I, as an individual and as a patriot, could not support. But there are other types of war from which, in my deliberate judgment, even the pacifist cannot rightly withhold support.

If on a village street one man kills another, that is, in general, murder—but there are exceptions. It is not murder if the one who kills is a policeman and his victim is a felon who would otherwise escape arrest; it is

not murder if the one who kills does so as the only means of saving his own life; and it is, under certain circumstances, not murder if the one who kills is a third party intervening to protect the life of a defenseless person. Most warfare is mass murder. But if military sanctions are ordered by a truly international tribunal for the sake of the maintenance of the world order against an international felon, then I believe that military action is justified, and is indeed to be classed as mass police action rather than as war. If the United States were a member of the League of Nations, as it ought eventually to be, and if that league should call on us to participate in military sanctions, it would be right, in my judgment, for men of fighting age to enter active military service, and for all others, men and women, to support the military effort.

#### *Aggressive and Defensive War*

I am well aware that the attempt to differentiate aggressive from defensive war has in many instances been difficult, but I believe such difficulty to be due to diplomatic intrigue and to propaganda rather than to inherent inaccessibility of the facts. In any case, if this country were invaded by a foreign host, by land, or sea, or air, it would be right, in my judgment, for men of fighting age to enter active military service, and for all others, men and women, to support the military effort. I do not believe that if a neighbor country should be similarly invaded it would necessarily be our duty to go to her defense; but I can imagine circumstances in which it would be our duty.

I find myself driven to the conclusion that these types of warfare may, in the chaos of our still primitive civilization, be right. If you share that conclusion as regards any one of the three types of warfare mentioned, you cannot honorably sign the pledge. But the fact that war in certain circumstances may be right makes it all the more incumbent on those of us who share that view to use our utmost intelligence and strength of will to prevent the development of those circumstances.

The proponents of the pledge are certainly moved in some measure by the idea that if any large number of students should sign it the government would thereby be led to refrain from some war in which it might otherwise engage. But that idea is, unfortunately, naïve; for the government would not ascribe to the pledges even the relatively slight significance which they would really have. I have already said that in my reluctant judgment not one in ten of those taking the pledge would keep it under the tremendous pressure of war. The military branches of the government, knowing students less well than I do and confident of the crushing power of governmental pressure in war time, would be more likely to say "one in a hundred," or "one in a thousand"—and to regard that one as negligible. The taking of the pledges would, in my opinion, have no practical influence whatsoever in leading the government to refrain from war.

There is still another reason, of a different order, for not taking this pledge. The finally effective steps toward peace will be taken not by individuals nor by

conventions but by governments. Even though government action in the last analysis may be responsive to public pressure, it is the government that must act, and it must act in terms of legislation and of treaty. The most directly effective way in which any citizen can promote the cause of peace is by doing all he can to lead his government to take effective steps toward peace.

Our own government has started on that high road, and it has started on that road not without collegiate endeavor and support. The government ought to look to the colleges, directly or indirectly, for advice and support in its further progress. The attitude of the colleges toward the government in the matter of peace ought, therefore, to be cooperative, and not non-cooperative. The pledge proposed is absolutely non-cooperative. If it were taken by any such number as to lead the government to think that the attitude expressed is characteristic of the colleges, the governmental conclusion, unfair but inevitable, would be that colleges are hostile, that they are in fact "hot-beds of sedition," and that any peace proposal emanating from a college source or supported by a col-

lege representative is suspect and undesirable. To have the government develop such an attitude toward the colleges would be tragically unfortunate for the cause of peace.

I believe, therefore, that the taking of the pledge would be worse than futile.

This has been a negative talk. I have argued against the adoption of one particular plan proposed as a means toward the prevention of war. To leave the matter permanently there would be unpardonable. War must go. If this particular plan is bad, what plans are good? The task of peace, to be sure, is a lifelong task; but is there not something you can do about it now? Yes. Many suggestions have been made from time to time upon this platform. As soon as time and strength permit I shall try to combine those and other suggestions in a positive talk on student work for the prevention of war.

This, in any case, is true: the action of the American college in the field of peace should be specifically collegiate—it should be primarily intelligent, not primarily emotional; deliberate, not impulsive; realistic, not naïve; not defeatist, but creative.

## Shall We Sign the Pacifist Pledge? Yes!

By Kirby Page

PACIFISTS must take seriously the spirited argument presented by President Wilkins. For this reason I am glad to respond to the editor's request for a brief comment on the significant questions raised. That a religious person is justified in expressing his resolute determination not to engage in certain types of action will be readily admitted. A Christian now residing in the United States is surely warranted in saying that he will never consent to the lynching of a human being and that he will never participate in the burning of a Negro community, even if some member of that race commits a horrible crime. To refuse to burn at the stake an individual who perpetrates a ghastly outrage is not to consent to the crime. To refuse to join a mob seeking retaliation by shooting down other Negroes is not to reflect cowardice, nor is it treason to the white race. If there is reason to believe that at some future date a terrific temptation to take part in a lynching will be presented, surely a religious person is warranted in recording emphatically that he will never consent to or engage in the burning of a human being. The signing of a pledge to this effect may serve as a reminder and a reinforcement in the hour of testing and may be used as a device with which to stimulate discussion and action on the part of other individuals. Signing a pledge to refrain from lynching is not by itself adequate, but surely it is legitimate! The crucial issue here involved is not the mere use of ink on a sheet of paper but the proclamation of an unqualified determination never to approve of this specific way of dealing with a criminal.

War is a particular method of dealing with international evildoers. Is a Christian justified in saying that he will never consent to its use and that he will never take any voluntary part in the waging of armed hostilities against another nation? The answer depends upon the nature of the war method and upon the consequences which flow from its utilization. What happens when, under present day conditions, a nation resorts to war?

Consider an extreme situation. Suppose that the United States feels obliged in self-defense to take up arms against Japan. Where would our armed forces do their fighting and what weapons would they make use of? In fighting in self-defense against Germany, American troops fought on German soil, as close to Berlin as they could force their way. In seeking to win this war of self-defense the American people consented to a hunger blockade of Germany which starved to death uncounted thousands of men, women and children. In self-defense American airmen rained death upon German cities. And if the United States stumbles into a defensive war with Japan, as much of the fighting as possible will be conducted on Japan's soil. Without doubt the United States would in that event endeavor to blockade Japan and to maintain the policy of starvation as long as necessary to win the war. The bombing of strategic centers in Japan would surely be undertaken. The realities of war will be driven home if we remember the inflammable nature of Japanese cities.

Sentimentalists in the United States would doubtless

object to the starving of Japanese people and the burning of their homes, but they would not be able to control the decision as to which weapons of war would be utilized. That decision would remain in the hands of "realists"—officers in military and naval headquarters. President Wilkins pleads for a sober realization of the incalculable power of passion and propaganda in war time, and I desire to join in voicing this plea. But it is imperative that we realize also that when a nation resorts to armed hostilities and believes itself to be fighting a life-and-death struggle in self-defense, its choice of weapons will surely be determined, not by tender-minded humanitarians, but by passion and the ruthless considerations of military necessity. After weeks and months of incessant propaganda designed to produce the conviction that the Japanese are monsters and fiends, not one American out of ten of all who have consented to the war in self-defense would stand up and protest against the blockade of Japan and the bombing of Japanese cities. The individual who consents to war must realize that in the frenzy of war time the doctrine of necessity rules supreme. Acceptance of the method of war produces impotence in the effort to humanize the conflict.

#### *The Example of Jesus*

But the pacifist must meet the rejoinder that it is theoretically permissible to limit consent to armed action on our own soil against an invading force. A Christian will approach this problem with a vivid realization that his own religion emerged from a similar historical situation. Does the Christian method of dealing with enemies differ in any vital respect from other means of defense against enemies? Surely Jesus thought so. "It was said to you of old, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, you must love your enemies"—bless them, pray for them, do them good. Is aggressive good will free to take up any and every weapon of destruction in dealing with enemies? Every Christian is obliged to face soberly this question: If Jesus had accepted the conclusion of the zealots that deliverance from Roman rule could be achieved only by armed action on the part of Jewish patriots, would he have been justified in waging war against the invaders? If Jesus had led his countrymen to armed victory over the Romans, if he had accepted the doctrine that the end justifies the means, could he have founded a religion of redemptive power? No! The significance of Jesus' way of life is found not only in ends but also in means.

Even a minimum of realism in evaluating the various aspects of the contemporary scene makes mandatory the conclusion that the United States is in no genuine danger of an unprovoked invasion. If Japanese armed forces ever land on American soil they will come as a consequence of a collision between the policies of the two nations which results in war. In that event there is a far higher degree of probability that our army and navy will invade Japan. Even if the people of the United States should feel obliged to take up arms in self-defense, victory would not bring security or justice. And there is an appalling possibility that such a con-

flict would be transformed into a world war with cataclysmic consequences for humanity. Surely therefore a Christian is justified in saying that he will never consent to war under any circumstances whatsoever!

#### *Direct and Indirect Guilt*

With President Wilkins' warning against hasty and ill-considered signing of pledges I am in complete sympathy. For an individual to say that he will not sanction any future war is to take an extremely serious step. No person is warranted in proclaiming this conviction until he has earned the right through mature deliberation. Moreover, it is apparent that the phrasing of a commitment is important. Indirect responsibility for war is unavoidable so long as one resides in a belligerent nation. Every form of useful work in war time aids in the waging of the war. But the declaration that there is no essential difference between raising potatoes and bombing an enemy city leads to sheer obfuscation. No person can dwell in an imperfect community without being contaminated in some degree by its evils. If indirect and limited responsibility produces the same quality of guilt as direct and voluntary participation in evil, then moral judgments are rendered meaningless. Is a merchant who sells a rope to an individual, without any knowledge that it will be used by a lynching mob, equally guilty with the vigilante who draws the noose around the neck of the victim?

Surely it is permissible for an individual to refuse to consent to capital punishment, although so long as it is perpetuated he may be unable to avoid some degree of indirect responsibility for it. Surely also a Christian is warranted in refusing to consent to the waging of war, in spite of inability completely to escape its meshes. Likewise he is justified in saying that he will not take up weapons of battle and that he will not wear a uniform of the war system in any capacity whatsoever. Dr. Wilkins has rendered a real service in uttering his warning against loosely worded pledges, but he has not demonstrated that inability of a citizen to avoid indirect responsibility in war time nullifies his right to withhold direct and voluntary participation in the waging of war.

#### *Pacifism—Negative and Positive*

What would happen if a substantial proportion of religious people could be induced to commit themselves to the pacifist strategy in dealing with other nations? Let the fact be remembered that pacifism is both negative and positive—refusal to sanction or engage in war, and commitment to the processes and agencies of peace. In spite of a widespread popular belief to the contrary, most pacifists recognize fully that refusal to engage in war constitutes only a portion of their responsibility. My question is therefore: what would happen if large numbers of Christians should simultaneously proclaim their determination not to sanction war under any circumstances and if they should redouble their efforts to bring about drastic changes in nationalism and in capitalism in order that cooperative commonwealths might strengthen and utilize international agencies of justice? What if the churches

should now disentangle themselves from the war system?

That various religious groups are already moving swiftly in this direction is easily demonstrable. The general council of Congregational and Christian churches, of which President Wilkins is a distinguished member, is on record in the official words: "The cleavage between the way of Jesus and the system of war is clear. We of this council are convinced that we must now make this declaration, 'The church is through with war!' We of this council call upon the people of the churches to renounce war and all its works and ways and to refuse to support, sanction or bless it." Precisely so! No less than sixty bishops and forty-five presidents of colleges and universities joined in a manifesto which included these words: "War has always been bloody and brutal. It is now an atrocity. . . . War is as futile as it is barbarous. . . . There is no victor. . . . All are defeated. . . . Modern war is suicide." Surely it is consistent for Christians who accept the truth of these ringing words to sign their names to a solemn covenant never under any circumstances to sanction atrocity and mass suicide. If the churches of America would not only render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but would also render unto God the things that are God's, they could make it impossible for the United States to wage war and compel the adoption of a foreign policy which would aid in bringing about a far higher degree of justice and security for all nations, including our own country.

The churches as official institutions cannot be disentangled from war unless energetic minorities set the example. One aspect of the pacifist faith can be expressed in this sequence: Governments will never abandon war until the churches have withdrawn their approval and support from the war system; the churches as institutions will never repudiate the war system until minorities within their ranks have led the way; therefore, supreme importance must be attached to the task of increasing the number of pacifists who proclaim their determination never to consent to war and to show their faith by their works in behalf of international justice and friendship.

That refusal to engage in war is regarded as treasonable is evident from the utterances of many of our fellow-citizens. Long ago the contemporaries of Jesus begged for the release of Barabbas, the patriot who in a rebellion killed a Roman, and howled for the crucifixion of the Galilean who challenged them to love the invading Romans. No individual is warranted in becoming a pacifist unless he is prepared to run risks and accept consequences. But no person can be a true follower of the Prince of Peace unless he is willing to take up his cross and follow on toward Calvary. To exhibit unwavering loyalty to Jesus' way of aggressive good will toward enemies and with him to refrain under all circumstances from hatred and slaughter is to reflect in the highest degree intelligence, deliberation, realism and creativity.

## Harlem's God

By Edwin T. Buehrer

EVERYBODY in Harlem knows about Father Divine, but only those who have steeped themselves in several of his "Peace Mission" meetings can appreciate the power and influence which this man wields over thousands of frenzied followers in many sections of the United States and in several European centers. I had long wanted to know more about him than I could learn from the fragmentary accounts of the newspapers and so one day I set out on my pilgrimage. I descended the steep precipice off the campus of Columbia university into Morningside park, and in less than two minutes I was on the fringe of New York's Harlem. I was soon directed to Father Divine's headquarters on 115th street where a "banquet table" was spread for the "angels" of his several "heavens" in this part of the city. One could have found it without a street number, for with every block "peace" signs were increasing. Here was a "Peace Coal Company," there a "Peace Restaurant," across the street a "Peace Radio Shop," and farther down a "Peace Beauty Parlor." It wasn't long until I heard strains of rhythmic, delirious singing which I had almost forgotten but which was strangely reminiscent of Negro revivals and outdoor "baptizings" which I had attended in the deep south when I was a boy.

The humble structure from which these strains came had an arched sign almost directly over the sidewalk with the word "Peace" across it in large letters. I pushed my way down the stairs and, before I knew it, I was in the midst of an emotional maelstrom the like of which I had never seen before. "Is he here?" I inquired. "Yes," said the person nearest me, "and isn't it wonderful?" What with the excitement, the pushing and milling around there was no chance to see the central figure in this emotional storm, so I just stood and listened to the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet that accompanied the words:

Keep your mind stayed on Father,  
Keep your mind stayed on Father,  
Keep your mind stayed on Father  
All the way.  
If you don't you will lose him,  
If you don't you will lose him,  
If you don't you will lose him,  
And go astray.

The pressure of the crowds was terrific, and the air so foul, hot, soggy and oppressive that I thought I should faint; but no one else seemed to mind. The intensity of the song increased with every measure until a grand climax of joy and delirium brought it to an

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# A Christian Strategy of Social Change

By KIRBY PAGE

Living in an imperfect world, Christians are compelled to act as non-warlike revolutionists. They are obliged to revolt against pagan customs and practices. Conformity constitutes treason. Acquiescence and inaction are inexcusable. Present-day followers of Jesus remain under the mandate, response to which earned for first-century Christians the designation, "These who turn the world upside down." The question of strategy of social change must therefore be faced. What steps will enable us to reach the Christian goal?

1. *Intensify the vividness of the ideal.* The first responsibility of Christians is to present continuously a vivid ideal for the individual and for society. In the personality of Jesus and in the concept of the Kingdom of God on earth we possess standards of values by which individuals and groups may be tested. When our own sinful lives are measured by the fulness of the stature of Christ, complacency becomes impossible and dissatisfaction with low achievement spurs us on to more vigorous endeavor. Elsewhere I have summarized in these words the characteristics which combined to produce in Jesus the most ennobling of all ideals: He was born in an obscure village of a distant province of a vast empire, the son of a peasant woman. He lived among people who knew the pangs of hunger and the pinch of poverty, victims of manifold forms of injustice and tyranny. Acquainted with grief and familiar with sorrow, he absorbed in himself the agonies of his enslaved countrymen. Surrounded by angry flames of hatred and retaliation, he emerged unscarred by enmity. Deaf ears he turned to the appeal of the dagger and the sword, and to the seductive whisper of compromise he did not respond. That the end justifies the means he never believed. So he sought to usher in the reign of God on earth by living every day as a wise and affectionate son in a Father's Home. None of the symbols of pomp and power did he possess. Penniless and propertyless, in hours of crisis he had not where to lay his head, although the foxes had holes and the birds had nests. The insignia of public office were never bestowed upon him, nor were honorary degrees of higher learning ever attached to his name. He went about doing good, relying utterly upon kindness and forgiveness and sacrifice, although fearless in denunciation of evil in high places. When hunted as a revolutionist because popular response to his appeal threatened to undermine prevailing customs and existing institutions, he remained calm and resolute in the face of a furious storm of opposition and persecution. Even the desertion of his dearest friends did not cause him to despair. Nor was he swerved by the knowledge that his relatives thought he was out of his mind. From the agony of Gethsemane, the mockery of a trial before high authority, the ordeal of bearing a heavy cross to Calvary and the shameful cruelty of crucifixion, he emerged triumphant. No wonder his name is plowed into history! No wonder his disciples on countless occasions have turned the world upside down! The ideal is here incarnate in the actual. He is the way, the truth and the life!

In the concept of the Kingdom of God on earth we find the ideal for society. When men love God with all their being and when they love neighbor as self,

what will be the appearance of this ideal community? First of all, it will be an equalitarian society, not one divided into classes of rich and poor. In that day the proceeds of the common toil of all will be distributed equally, except for variations in need and differences in responsibility or function. A flat level of equality does not meet the demands of justice or of love, but extreme variations are utterly intolerable. Love flows in the direction of need. Those who need most should receive most. The performance of complex functions calls for more training and more facilities than are required in the fulfilment of simple duties. Therefore, equality of distribution will not prevent the placing of superior tools and equipment in the hands of persons to whom greater responsibility is allocated. But these variations will not be sufficient to create a vast chasm of difference between various persons. Substantial equality will be the practice.

Second, the ideal society will be cooperative, not competitive. It will be a community in which individuals share, rather than grab from each other. When the goal of approximate equality of economic privilege is accepted, the advantages of cooperation over competition are so incalculable as to be beyond dispute. Cooperation in sharing is unifying and ennobling, whereas conflict in seizing is divisive and devastating.

In the third place, the new society will not be one in which supreme emphasis is placed upon material things but upon spiritual values. In the Kingdom of God on earth men will require bread, but they will not live by bread alone. Through mutuality and sharing, plenty for everybody can easily be made available. Only a small fraction of the energy of the community will be required to provide the material basis of the good life. It will thus be possible to move out of the kitchen of life into the living-room, the library, the conservatory and the sanctuary.

2. *Form judgments concerning the status quo in the light of the ideal.* The actualities of the present economic order cannot possibly be reconciled with the ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth. With abundant justification Stanley Jones, one of the most beloved missionary evangelists of this generation, says: "I am persuaded that Christianity cannot fit into a competitive order. . . . Christianity is not looked on as an impossible, unworkable method. It must be confessed that it is—under this order. . . . Is there anything more insane than the dog-eat-dog method of competition? . . . How can we as Christian people develop spirituality when at the heart of all our economic relationships is the unspiritual fact of the competitive attitude? It poisons all our relationships, individual, group and national. . . . We have gone as far in spirituality as we can under the competitive system."

Capitalism relies upon selfishness and greed as its primary motivation, and functions through the channel of the competitive struggle for private gain. This combination leads unavoidably to vast disparity in wealth and privilege, some members of society securing far more than they need or can use, whereas millions of Americans are compelled to exist in dire distress. Greed is one of the most devastating of all sins. Like a cancerous sore it eats

away the high values of life. Yet it would be difficult to devise an economic system that would more highly stimulate the greedy desire for personal gain than is being done under capitalism. Class conflict is certain to become more intense as the competitive struggle engulfs bigger and bigger units. Worker is pitted against worker, owner against owner, organized employers against organized workers, organized citizens against organized citizens of other lands. The halo of competition as a beneficent process quickly disappears in the market place, and instead competition stands starkly revealed as the primitive law of the jungle which cannot possibly be reconciled with cooperative endeavors in behalf of the common good. The least that a true Christian can do is to withdraw all sanction and approval from the paganism of capitalism.

3. *Test proposed solutions by the ideal.*

Christians are called upon to throw themselves in vigorous opposition to the continuance of capitalism, but not all forms of revolution are consistent with the Christian strategy. It is not only necessary for Christians to test ends and objectives by their ideal, but it is also obligatory that they evaluate means and methods in the light of this ideal. The fact seems to me to be established beyond dispute that the strategy of civil war in behalf of a new social order is utterly incompatible with the Christian procedure. To destroy capitalism by the armed seizure of power would call not only for war, but for the more ghastly form of war, civil war among kinspeople and neighbors. Jesus' method is to overcome evil with goodness and to reveal goodwill even toward enemies. The Christian strategy therefore calls for opposition to capitalism by methods that are consistent with the spirit and teaching of the carpenter of Nazareth, that is, by non-warlike means.

Three procedures are essential: evangelism, education and organization. A continuous effort must be made to win individuals to Christ. Conversion is incomplete and unsatisfactory unless it includes conversion from competitive struggle for special privilege to cooperative endeavor in behalf of the common good. Evangelism must be supplemented with nurture. Men must be taught to love God with their minds and to discover the mind of Christ. Every agency of education must be utilized in a continuing endeavor to train Christians in the application of Jesus' way of life in present-day situations. But evangelism and education will prove to be inadequate unless supplemented by appropriate economic and political organization. Structural changes in the present economic order are urgently demanded. So long as the system of private property in the chief means of production and distribution is perpetuated it will be impossible to get rid of the competitive struggle for private gain, with all its devastating consequences. Distribution upon a basis of equality, with variations for differences in need and in responsibility, cannot be achieved so long as consolidated private ownership of the chief sources of wealth is retained.

The transfer of the chief instruments of production and distribution from private to public ownership should be made by purchase, with payment being made in bonds based upon the value of the properties thus transferred. Mutual cooperation for common ends may be expressed through varying types of collective ownership: national ownership through government action; ownership by states or groups of states; municipal or county ownership; collective ownership through groups of producers or consumers operating on a non-profit basis. The way of escape from inefficiency and corruption in operation of collective enterprises may be found in a new type of social organization and a new concept of citizenship.

Coal mines, for example, should not be operated by a committee of the Congress, but through a board of directors composed of representatives of the groups which are best qualified to operate them and which have the greatest stake in the industry. Therefore, the board of control should be composed of engineers and technicians, miners and representatives of consumers of coal. Thus we see that political democracy must be supplemented by functional democracy. That is to say, individuals must not only vote as residents of a particular geographical area, but must also vote as members of functional groups. The engineers who sit on the board of control of the coal industry should be elected by their fellow engineers in a national society of technicians. Likewise the miners should be elected by popular vote in the national union of miners.

Drastic transformation of the present property system can be achieved pacifically only through powerful organizations of citizens in a political party committed to this end, and through nation-wide organizations of workers in unions and of consumers in cooperative societies. The combined power of these economic and political organizations will be required in the inauguration of the new property system. That the odds against success are heavy is indisputable. But the odds are even heavier against the chance of victory through armed violence and civil war.

4. *Reveal penitence for lack of vision and lack of power.* The odds against success are heavy, because, in part, such a large majority of Christians have been guilty of conformity. In every generation since the days of Constantine, large proportions of Christians have sanctioned and supported whatever economic order happened to be dominant at the time, whether the bread-system was imperial conquest, serfdom, divine right of kings, slavery or capitalism. Until day before yesterday an enormous percentage of clergymen and laymen of the churches accepted capitalism and gloried in it. Fortunately, a rapid change in attitude is taking place and a substantial proportion of ministers are now recognizing the inherently immoral character of the competitive struggle for private gain. But even today an extremely high percentage of laymen still give their allegiance to capitalism and bitterly resent all efforts to socialize the chief means of production. Conformity and entanglement are deadly enemies of the Kingdom of God on earth. Therefore, true Christians must realize that they are implicated in a sinful procedure and must cry to God for forgiveness, while endeavoring earnestly to bring forth appropriate fruits of contrition. Followers of Jesus must recognize the dimness of their vision and the feebleness of their efforts and therefore live daily in the mood of penitence. Complacency on the part of a Christian living in America today is a certain sign of blindness or of hypocrisy.

5. *Trust God for victory.* In the Christian strategy of social change ultimate responsibility rests with God. Success is not required of the individual. Not success but loyalty to a way of life is demanded. The noblest of spiritual prophets have burned their bridges behind them, risking everything in the endeavor to accomplish their high purpose. Pioneers in all realms have been compelled to take chances and to accept consequences. To the degree that Jesus succeeded, he threatened the security or very existence of many customs and institutions that were held sacred by his contemporaries. No wonder, therefore, that he was hounded to death by blindness, bigotry, fear and greed. Defenders of the status quo were correct in their judgment that he was a more dangerous threat to their privilege and power than were thieves and robbers. When Jesus refused to conform to prevailing customs and

(Continued on page 392)

At one of the industrial conferences, a discussion leader asked the girls what they would like to have. The first answer was, "A good income." The second was, "I'd like to have freedom to say what I want. I'd like to think that, no matter what I think, if I do my job well I can keep the job." This does not sound so dramatic in writing but when the girl said it, it was impressive.—*From a letter.*

## UNEMPLOYMENT

I am sending (*see below*) a few sentences with reference to business girls out of employment and why it is important for the Y.W.C.A. to work on this question.

There is so much to be said on the subject that I found it rather difficult to confine my remarks within the limit set. I could paint a vivid picture of what it means to walk the streets seeking for a job when there is none and what it takes to look cheerful and be courageous when your heart is sinking within you; but that is an old, old story. Perhaps I have been more fortunate than the majority for I have always been able to find some kind of job and my efficiency has helped me to secure some very good ones. Then, too, there were my loyal friends to help me. It was a long illness that threw me into the ranks of the unemployed and not the cursed "cutting of personnel" to reduce the overhead. Also, seeing the weakness of others as they fell by the wayside spurred me on to keep up my own courage and develop my "inner spiritual resources." I found time to do so many things that I didn't have time to do while regularly employed that I didn't have time to burst into tears and be sorry for myself. But all that is over now and I have a good job in which I am very happy.

"My experience of unemployment distilled in my heart the 'precious oil of sympathy' for others out of a job. Having fallen into this well, I know with what eagerness others listen for some word of hope and counsel during such periods of fear and stress.

"As individuals and as members of a Christian organization we cannot thus pass by on the other side. It is for us to sustain the spirit as well as do something about it."

—Viola Moser, *National Business and Professional Council.*

## COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

My father was an office worker and I was taught as a child that it was much more genteel to have your father wear a nice white collar and have the kitchen towel snowy, than to have the shiny new automobile that our neighbor, the railroad man, had. Even then, if it had been a matter of choice, I would rather have had the car. However, I grew up into an office worker, and the son of the railroad man went to college and studied a profession. That was my first experience with the tangible results of collective bargaining vs. poor-but-proud individualism, for the railroad man belonged to one of the brotherhoods.

Today the same false standards of gentility seem to make it imperative that we look down our noses at individuals or groups who champion collective bargaining. This feeling of superiority is a hangover from a past era, and, logically, should not be tolerated any more than bustles and hoopskirts—decorative, perhaps, but not practical.

Such a feeling is not practical for the office worker because, although always underpaid, he was the

first to be exploited at the outset of the depression and his standard of living has been steadily declining. Just in our Toledo Business Girls' League the average wage has decreased from \$22.22 in 1931, to \$20.40 in 1933, and in 1934 to \$18.45 per week. In a recent study made at the Toledo Edison Company the average was \$96.24 per month as compared with \$123.24 as of 1929—way below the standard of comfortable living. We have no savings, we must move to homes with lower rent, we borrow on our insurance (if we have any), we can't afford to be sick or go to the dentist or buy wedding presents, and very few of us have automobiles. These are drab and deplorable conditions, affecting our life today and our outlook tomorrow.

It is not practical for the employer, because collective action is coming whether he likes it or not. Higher wages mean more purchasing power, which in turn means more sales, leading eventually to more stable business conditions. The sooner the employer recognizes this fact and goes on from there, instead of fighting the inevitable, the sooner we shall have the road paved to industrial peace.

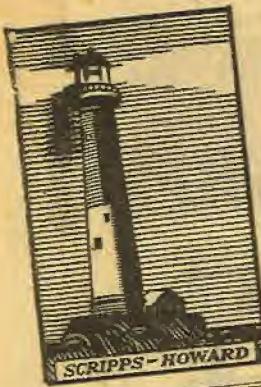
It is not practical for the Y.W.C.A. because it is a Christian organization with a social philosophy. It believes in a more abundant life for girls. Without economic security it is impossible for girls to have this well-rounded life. Collective bargaining is one way to work toward economic security.—*From a Business Girl.*

## A Christian Strategy of Social Change

(Continued from page 384)

advocated radical proposals, he invited relentless hostility. No modern capitalist is more alarmed by Bolshevism than devout Jews were enraged by Jesus. To his contemporaries the revolutionary from Nazareth seemed to threaten the basic foundations of religion, morality and patriotism. His death was considered a necessary measure of public safety. Dullness, intolerance, greed and fear did their deadly work and Jesus' earthly career was ended at an age when most men are just beginning. But he lived long enough to prove that a man may live every day as a good member of God's Home. In our day also this mode of living will arouse furious opposition on the part of those who are seeking to preserve the existing social order.

But which one of us is sufficient for the occasion? Is Jesus' way really practicable for us? Certain it is that we cannot live perfectly as a son in the home of his Father, but this we can do: We can refuse to lower our ideals and to conform to a pagan society. We can resolutely endeavor to live every day in right relations with God and man and never to be satisfied with low aim and meager achievement, ever being convicted of guilt, private and corporate. The quality of a way of life must be tested by the nobility of its aims, the validity of its methods and the loyalty with which these aims are sought by these methods. Since fear is an obstacle in the pathway of religious vitality, it is imperative that we keep constantly in mind the fact that God does not require success of us, any more than He required it of Jesus. Moreover, God does not hold us responsible for the success of the cause into which we throw ourselves. When Jesus was being crucified between two thieves no cause seemed more irretrievably lost than his own. Through endless ages God has been struggling and suffering in an endeavor to persuade his children to co-operate in the creation of a divine society upon earth. The Christian strategy begins and ends with God. In his hands are the ultimate issues. Of man it is required that he love God and love his neighbor.



# Memphis Pre

56TH YEAR

WEATHER: Cloudy, probably rain or snow tonight and

MONDAY, DEC.

## SELFISH CONCEPT OF PEACE, SAYS PAGE

Called 'Peaceable' Powers Have So Shut  
Off Trade of the Little Nations That  
Now They Must Fight or Die

### SOLUTION IS SHARING COMMERCE

Not Shouting 'Neutrality,' Noted Speaker  
Will Tell Methodists; 'Big Nations  
Have Already Stolen Theirs'

By JACK BRYAN, Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

War is bearing down on the world at breakneck speed. If it comes, its blood will lie not at the door of the militaristic nations, but on the three great "peace-loving" powers, the United States, England and France.

Dr. Kirby Page, renowned writer and advocate of peace, put the finger on these storekeepers of the world's goods for a policy that is driving the poorer nations into war thru sheer economic stress.

His views, voiced at Hotel Peabody after his arrival in Memphis today, sounded the theme that will be followed by two exponents of peace to the 5000 Methodist youths in their conference at the Auditorium tonight.

The first speaker will be Senator Gerald P. Nye, of North Dakota, thrown into the peace limelight by his leadership in exposing the munitions industry's part in war and in advancing a permanent neutrality policy for the United States. He will address the conference on "The Munitions Industry and the Causes of War."

The other speaker will be Dr. Page, international Christian leader, editor, writer and one of the world's most aggressive champions of peace. He will speak on "Should Christians Sanction War?"

The session will begin at 7:30 under the leadership of John Bayliss of the North Arkansas conference, and time will be allowed for a forum of questions after each address.

## FRANK AND AL SPLIT WIDENS

Capital Confused at Smith's  
Refusal to Accept Bid To  
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By United Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30.—The widening breach between President Roosevelt and former Gov. Alfred E. Smith, whom he once termed "The Happy Warrior" was emphasized today in a war of statements over Smith's rejection of an invitation to spend the night at the White House.

Smith opened the statement exchange with a release to reporters in New York in which he challenged remarks which he attributed to a "White House spokesman."

Smith said he had been invited to the White House only once during the Roosevelt regime, instead of

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JOSEPHINE CARDEN



JAMES HAYDEN

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'Not Our Fault,' He  
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It was his first reference to proposals which cost Sir Samuel Hoare his job as British foreign minister and almost precipitated French cabinet crisis.

The Paris proposals, as they called, were "very far from satisfying Italy's minimum requirements," Mussolini said.

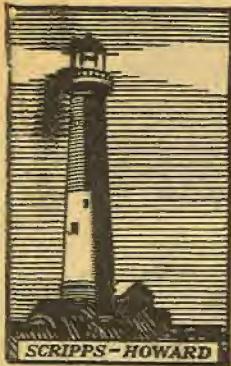
These proposals, he added, failed to satisfy Italy's need for security for its East African frontiers and its citizens in the colonies, "but they were to be expected."

### "Not Our Fault"

Mussolini, continuing, said: "The reason for the failure of the proposals is to be found beyond Italy's frontiers—as all men of good faith now are beginning to admit."

This statement was read in diplomatic quarters here with the knowledge that Mussolini had been reported authoritatively as ready to accept the proposals as a basis for negotiation.

Mussolini next referred to the military situation in East Africa and, as if in answer to reports that Ethiopia's warriors are driving back his legions, he said that at some points the Italians were 170 kilometers (105.57 miles) from the Eritrean frontier.



SCRIPPS-HOWARD

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The solution, he said, is to tear down nationalistic commerce barriers and open up the channels of international trade on a reciprocal basis.

"It is my opinion," Dr. Page said, "that we are going headlong into war. I do not say that war is inevitable or unavoidable. But unless there is a drastic change in somebody's policy, there will be a big war."

"The world situation today is like Turn to Page 2—NYE AND PAGE

## BLADE OF GRASS LODGES IN GLAND

### Mississippi State Student Goes To Hospital

Four months of suffering, confinement in a hospital and several operations resulted from Newton McWilliams III, 19-year-old Mississippi State College student of Clarksdale, Miss., putting a blade of grass in his mouth.

Last September he unconsciously plucked a blade of grass and slipped it into his mouth. The blade slipped into a duct leading to the salivary glands.

"The other day he asked me to pick out a sliver from beneath his tongue. Then he told us what had happened," his mother, Mrs. R. N. McWilliams Jr., said today. "Then we brought him to Baptist Hospital."

Since coming here the son has undergone two incisions under his chin, where drainage tubes were inserted. He can only eat a liquid diet.

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Controversy over the White House invitation arose when it was revealed that Mrs. Roosevelt had asked Smith to spend the night at the White House when he comes here Jan. 25.

The reason for Smith's Washington visit is to attend a banquet of the American Liberty League, at which he is expected to open a critical attack on the New Deal.

Smith declined the invitation, saying he and his party planned to stay at a hotel.

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2. President Roosevelt, in his Christmas message, urged—world peace, church attendance, tariff changes or the Townsend plan?

3. Colonel Lindbergh, his wife and son Jon fled to Europe to escape—cold weather, high taxes, kidnap threats or unwelcome relatives?

4. Senator Schall died in Washington of injuries received when he—was hit by an auto, fell down stairs, was waylaid, or suffered a heart attack?

5. Denunciation of the New Deal was anticipated with the announcement that on Jan. 25 the Liberty League would have as its guest speaker—Father Coughlin, Upton Sinclair, John Garner,

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## CURIOS CROWD AWAITS LINDY

### Flier and Family Unable To Flee Spotlight; Ship Docks Tomorrow

By United Press

LIVERPOOL, Dec. 30.—The steamship American Importer, bringing Col. and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh and their baby Jon to self-imposed exile in England, lazed thru a stormy Irish Sea today.

The American Importer will dock here at 5 a.m. tomorrow or shortly afterward, the United States consulate was informed by the United States Line today. The Lindberghs,

### BETTY WON'T RETURN

(Copyright, 1935, by Associated Press)

GLASGOW, Scotland, Dec. 30.—Betty Gow told the Associated Press today that Colonel and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh have asked her to work for them again, "but I don't think I'll go."

The little Scottish nurse was in charge of the first Lindbergh baby when he was kidnapped and slain.

She said she had heard from the Lindberghs and that they had asked her to re-enter their employ.

"The Lindberghs were the most kindly and considerate of employers one could ask, but I want to forget all about the past," she said.

the line said, will disembark about 6:30 a.m. (2:30 a.m. Memphis time)

This word, first from the ship in more than 24 hours, came when it had had time to reach Liverpool, its expected port of call, after a stormy passage across St. George's channel and the Irish Sea.

It was planned that the ship should communicate with the United States Line offices later today, so that Colonel Lindbergh could be informed of arrangements for taking him and his family from Liverpool to whatever destination he has selected.

At every port of possible call on the English, Welsh, Scots and Irish coast waited police, townspeople and newspaper correspondents representing British and American newspapers and press associations.

It was planned at first to permit the Lindberghs to land without even a more-than-normal police detail, but public curiosity prevented.

### ROOSEVELT TO TAKE STUMP IN CAMPAIGN

By Associated Press

NEW YORK, Dec. 30.—The New York Times says President Roosevelt will take the stump in the campaign for his re-election in 1936.

No definite decision has been reached as to the extent of his campaign tour, the Times says, but he will be urged to make a coast-to-coast campaign as he did in 1932.

There is little doubt among the President's intimate friends the paper adds, that he will undertake an

ferred to the Italian outpost at Gabre Darre on the southern front, which is about that distance from the Italian Somaliland frontier. A point 170 kilometers from the Eritrean frontier is far south of the Italian front line and even farther from the scene of all recent fighting.)

It is essential to the expeditionary forces to consolidate their position the premier explained, before continuing the advance.

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At its meeting, the cabinet adopted the budget for the fiscal year 1936-1937, beginning next July with a total provision for expenditures of 20,000,000,000 lire (\$1,614,000,000).

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Italy's internal debt as of June 30 was 105,389,000,000 lire (\$8,750,000,000). Turn to Page 2—SAVAGE TRIBES

## BELIEVES THELMA'S DEATH ACCIDENTAL

### Probe Virtually Collapsed Mother's Testimony

By United Press

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By United Press

HAMDEN, N. J., Dec. 30.—Lise C. Case, one of the jurors who convicted Bruno Richard Hauptmann of the Lindbergh kidnaping, will be buried Thursday, 10 days before the week set for Hauptmann's execution.

He died at his home yesterday of a lingering heart ailment.

## Bugbee Watches At Orange Bowl

America has gone bowl-mad—and for the first time a gridiron eleven from the Memphis territory will battle in one of the New Year's football classics.

Ole Miss will represent Dixieland against Catholic University in the Orange Bowl at Miami Wednesday, and George Bugbee, sports editor of The Press-Scimitar, is accompanying the Florida team to the Land of Sunshine.

Mr. Bugbee will cover Press-Scimitar readers all developments in his daily article and after the game he'll tell you who won, and why.

# 'LIGHT YOUR WAY WITH TORCHES,' DELEGATES TOLD

Dr. Chalmers Says Modern Era Demands Vigorous Action By Church

By CARL MARSH

Press-Scimitar Staff Writer

It isn't a new light but a different organization of that light which the world needs. Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle of New York City, declared last night before an audience of 6000 at the Auditorium.

He urged the Methodist Young People's Conference to go out into the world with torches, not candles. "This is not the same old world, regardless of what they tell you," he said. "It's going to be a cold and windy world into which you are going. And this personal religion on which I and some of the older ones were raised, will not be enough to light this world.

#### Old Idea Not Sufficient

"The old individual idea was that I was to be a good boy, and that I should let my light so shine that others might see. Now Jesus meant that He said about letting your light shine, but He didn't mean it a lot of Sunday School teachers it."

"I don't need a new light. Jesus is it we need."

"I renounced war. He little Bible, way

## PIGRAMS POUR FROM HIS TYPEWRITER



DR. KIRBY PAGE

Punch lines pour from the ever-present typewriter of Dr. Kirby Page, dynamic writer and peace advocate, caught here in his Hotel Peabody room today as his fingers sizzled on the keys in preparation for his address at the Methodist Young People's Conference tonight. Arriving here direct from California, he jumps from here to Chicago, then New York, just one of many of his cross-country and international jaunts.

## KAPPA ALPHA IN WOMAN SHOOTS SESSION Bar SELF AT PARTY

Frame

## KAGAWA PLANS 2-DAY TOUR OF TVA PROJECTS

Will See How His 'Christian Co-Operative' System Is Applied in America

Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa will have two full days in the TVA area to study what his followers consider one of the outstanding examples of the application of his Christian co-operative system in American life.

Kagawa will divide Jan. 11 between Knoxville and Chattanooga, and will then go to Norris and the Norris Dam for a full day on Jan. 12.

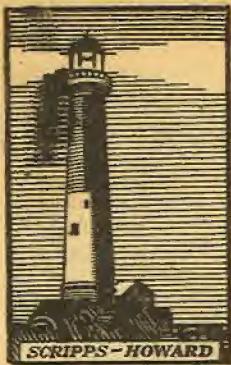
In a monograph that discusses Kagawa's co-operatives, Miss Helen Topping, his American-born secretary, says, "In the Tennessee Valley Authority there is just now a fascinating development of utilities' co-operatives, which are one step better than public political ownership, being more secure in the hands of the consumer owners than in the hands of the politicians."

Kagawa's inspection of TVA will be part of a two weeks' tour thru the southeast immediately after the co-operative conference in Indianapolis.

#### Tour Meets Protests

But his tour in the South is not being made without protests already having come in against this unorthodox economist and religionist.

Dr. Alva W. Taylor, professor at



# Memphis Pre

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MEMPHIS, TENN., MONDAY, DEC.

## NYE AND DR. PAGE TO EXPOSE WAR IN CONFERENCE TALKS

America's Noted Exponents of Peace Will  
Hurl Challenge Tonight at Methodist  
Young People's Session

### SENATOR TO SPEAK ON MUNITIONS

On Eve of Asking Congress to Adopt His  
Plan for Permanent Neutrality;  
Open Forums Will Follow

Methodist youth will be challenged at the Auditorium tonight to gird itself for peace by two of the most distinguished speakers of the Methodist Young People's Conference.

Two of America's most noted foes of war, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Dr. Kirby Page, were to reach Memphis today from opposite shores of the country.

to appear jointly at the session starting at 7:30 tonight, which is devoted to the purpose of national and international peace.

Senator Nye, expected to arrive from Washington by plane, comes at a significant time, just before the opening of Congress, when his munitions investigating committee proposes to dig further into the commercialization of war thru loans and when, under Nye's leadership, a permanent neutrality policy for this country will be proposed.

#### "Munitions and War"

Senator Nye is to speak on "The Munitions Industry and the Causes of War."

Dr. Page, one of the most eminent Christian crusaders for peace and contributing editor to "The Christian Century," will follow Senator Nye on the program with an address on "Should Christians Sanction War?" Dr. Page's worldwide activity in the mission field and Y. M. C. A. work, followed by prolific writings and editorial labor, including editorship of "The World Tomorrow," have made him eminent in the peace movement and in the field of liberal thought.

Both addresses will be followed by short open forums under leadership

Methodist Young People  
invite you to hear Senator  
Nye at the Auditorium, 7:30  
tonight.

## 'RED CROSS IS WAR TOOL, TOO'

Says New York Pacifist;  
Never Again Would He  
Support It

The Red Cross was branded as a participant in the war system Saturday by Allan Knight Chalmers of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.

Dr. Chalmers, well-known pacifist, made this point in an informal, short talk before more than 200 youths of a War and Peace group meeting, part of the Methodist Young People's Conference at Hotel

SHE SPURNS LOVER  
FREED BY SUICIDE



JOSEPHINE CARDEN



JAMES HAYDEN

Love won at the cost of another woman's life has been spurned by Josephine Carden, 18-year-old Chicago high school student, and James Hayden, 23, has lost both the mother of his 18-months-old baby and the girl blamed for wrecking their home. Mr. Hayden shot herself after calling the pair to her home and demanding that her husband choose between them. Hayden chose Miss Carden, who at first said she would wed him at once, then said she was tired of him.

DUCE BLAMES  
POWERS FOR  
PEACE DELA

Collapse of Paris Propo  
'Not Our Fault,' He  
Tells Cabinet

EXPLAINS SLOW CAMPA

Necessary to Fortify F  
Positions Before Movin  
Up, He Says

By United Press

ROME, Dec. 30.—Premier Benito Mussolini, in addressing his cabinet, revealed disappointment today at failure of the recent French-British proposals for settlement of the Italian-Ethiopian crisis.

It was his first reference to proposals which cost Sir Samuel Hoare his job as British foreign minister and almost precipitated French cabinet crisis.

The Paris proposals, as they called, were "very far from satisfying Italy's minimum requirements," Mussolini said.

These proposals, he added, failed to satisfy Italy's need for security for its East African frontiers and its citizens in the colonies, "but was to be expected."

#### "Not Our Fault"

Mussolini, continuing, said:

"The reason for the failure of the proposals is to be found beyond Italy's frontiers—as all men of faith now are beginning to admit."

This statement was read in diplomatic quarters here with knowledge that Mussolini had reportedly authoritatively as ready to accept the proposals as a basis for negotiation.

Mussolini next referred to military situation in East Africa and, as if in answer to reports that Ethiopia's warriors are driving his legions, he said that at some points the Italians were 170 kilometers (105.57 miles) from the Eritrean frontier.

(It was assumed Mussolini referred to the Italian outpost Gabre Darre on the south front, which is about 170

of Lavens M. Thomas, in which the audience will be allowed to put questions to the speakers.

Already the drums of peace have echoed vibrantly thru the conference halls, with Toyohiko Kagawa's economic and religious program aired on Saturday and with the youthful delegates themselves assailing the world of war in their opening conference groups on Saturday.

#### International Speakers

Additional youth conferences were to be held this afternoon, following a morning devoted to a program of world Christianity, in which Hastings Kamazu Banda, native of Africa; T. H. Sun, Chinese; Ada Pino, of Cuba, and Tatsuo Kuriyayashi, Japanese, joined Ivan Lee Holt, St. Louis minister and president of the Federal Council of Churches, and Bishop John M. Moore in voicing an international gospel.

Today will mark the next to last day of the four-day Southern Methodist Youth Conference, which has drawn 5000 delegates from throughout the country and from abroad.

The final day's sessions tomorrow will open in the morning with four addresses on racial questions. These will be:

"Practical Aspects of the Interracial Situation," by Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of schools in Atlanta and former president of the National Educational Association.

#### Johnson to Speak

"The Negro and the World Crisis," by Mordecai Johnson, Tennessean, president of Howard University for negroes in Washington, winner of the Spingarn Medal for outstanding service to the negro race, and government investigator of conditions in Haiti and the Virgin Islands.

"The Youth of Today and the Homes of Tomorrow," by Regina Westcott-Wieman, writer and authority on parental education and family life, from Chicago.

"Jesus, Our Only Hope and Never-Failing Strength," by G. Ray Jordan, minister in Winston-Salem, N. C.

Chisca.

"I would not help the Red Cross during another war," Dr. Chalmers declared resolutely.

"I would be helping in the war system. I would be a participant. And to be a pacifist, I would have to make an absolute break.

#### Not Even for Defense

"You go into the Red Cross and kid yourself into thinking you're doing the right thing to help—when they go along in ambulances and pick up wounded and say, 'There, there.'

After Dr. Chalmers had asserted he would not participate in war, even in defense of his wife and child, a student queried him. "Wouldn't you, if your wife and child were thrown into slavery?"

"No," Dr. Chalmers said. "As hard as it would be. My wife and child have got to be able to take it, too. That's what Christianity means."

When asked by another student as to the reasons of his absolute pacifism, Dr. Chalmers drew a deep breath and smiled.

#### Joined French Army

"As a boy of 20, I couldn't wait for the United States to get into the World War. So I joined the French army.

"I spent nine months in a dugout at the front. At one time I saw a group of men near me hit by an explosive. About nine were killed; many were wounded. I saw a white backbone sticking in the mud. I saw my friend dead.

"There were other things. I lost all faith in the world and, for a while, belief in God.

"It looks as if war may come. It will be no fun to see my wife and child suffer. But I can't stick a bayonet and twist it in any man's entrails. Nothing could justify it."

#### BORN IN TAXI, NAMED REVERE

By United Press

CHICAGO, Dec. 30—Late at night a few days ago a baby girl was born in a taxi in a futile sprint to a hospital. Today her parents named her Pauline Revere Stone in memory of the midnight ride.

## Knowledge Test on the News

The questions below were taken from important news stories of the past week. How many can you answer? Your answers may be checked with those listed on page 2.

1. What senatorial "trust buster" is definitely in the running for the Republican presidential nomination—Capper, Borah, Barbour, Farley or Bilbo?

2. President Roosevelt, in his Christmas message, urged—world peace, church attendance, tariff changes or the Townsend plan?

3. Colonel Lindbergh, his wife and son Jon fled to Europe to escape—cold weather, high taxes, kidnap threats or unwelcome relatives?

4. Senator Schall died in Washington of injuries received when he—was hit by an auto, fell down stairs, was waylaid, or suffered a heart attack?

5. Denunciation of the New Deal was anticipated with the announcement that on Jan. 25 the Liberty League would have as its guest speaker—Father Coughlin, Upton Sinclair, John Garner, Henry Ford or Al Smith?

6. Hollywood's holiday thrill was the Christmas Eve wedding of—Claudette Colbert, Jackie Coogan, Mary Pickford, Greta Garbo or Edna Mae Oliver?

7. Severe criticism followed reports that Senator Key Pittman had predicted that America sooner or later would go to war with—England, Germany, Ethiopia, Japan or Mexico?

8. Christmas trade was generally hailed as the most prosperous since—1930, 1933, 1918 or 1929?

9. Sir Samuel Hoare, whose "peace plan" had been publicly denounced, was succeeded as Britain's foreign secretary by—Stanley Baldwin, Anthony Eden, Italo Balbo or the Prince of Wales?

10. Russia warned Japan after the latter allegedly encouraged an armed invasion of—Mongolia, Turkey, Hilo, Peru or the Philippines?

## CURIOS CROWD AWAITS LINDY

### Flier and Family Unable To Flee Spotlight; Ship Docks Tomorrow

By United Press

LIVERPOOL, Dec. 30.—The steamship American Importer, bringing Col. and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh and their baby Jon to self-imposed exile in England, lazed thru a stormy Irish Sea today.

The ship wirelessly the United States Lines here that it intended to dock about 8 o'clock tomorrow morning (2 a.m., tomorrow Memphis time).

This word, first from the ship in more than 24 hours, came when it had had time to reach Liverpool, its expected port of call, after a stormy passage across St. George's channel and the Irish Sea.

It was planned that the ship should communicate with the United States Line offices later today, so that Colonel Lindbergh could be informed of arrangements for taking him and his family from Liverpool to whatever destination he has selected.

Indications were that the ship would seek an hour for arrival at which a minimum crowd could be expected, and might cruise about all day and night.

At every port of possible call on the English, Welsh, Scots and Irish coast waited police, townspeople and newspaper correspondents representing British and American newspapers and press associations.

It was planned at first to permit the Lindberghs to land without even a more-than-normal police detail, but public curiosity prevented.

### 'MAYOR BOSSY' NEAR DEATH---PNEUMONIA

By United Press

NEWBURYPORT, Mass., Dec. 30.—Mayor-Elect Andrew J. (Bossy) Gillis, whose talkative, two-fisted regime during two previous terms as mayor of this coastal city made him a national newspaper figure, lay seriously ill of bronchial pneumonia at his home today—a week prior to his inauguration.

It was learned that his condition is so alarming that last rites of the Catholic Church have been administered.

### MOTHER IS SLAIN BY DERANGED DAUGHTER

By United Press

LAUREL, Md., Dec. 30.—Mrs. Mary Masner, 83, was slain yesterday by her daughter, who had been brought home for the Christmas holidays from the Springfield Hospital for the Mentally Deranged.

The daughter, Miss Carrie Masner, 36, was taken back to the hospital last night by Sheriff Frank Curtiss.

The daughter found a rifle in a closet which had been forgotten by other members of the family.

Hospital authorities did not consider Miss Masner dangerous.

tance from the Italian frontier. A point 170 kilometers from the Eritrean frontier is 18 south of the Italian front line and even farther from the scene of all recent fighting.)

It is essential to the expedition forces to consolidate their position, the premier explained, before continuing the advance.

#### Budget Approved

At its meeting, the cabinet adopted the budget for the fiscal year 1936-1937, beginning next July with a total provision for expenditures of 20,000,000,000 lire (\$1,600,000,000).

The estimated budget deficit for the year ending next June 30, originally calculated, was 1,653,000,000 lire (\$133,727,000). Since there have been many unexpected expenditures.

Italy's internal debt as of June 30 was 105,389,000,000 lire. Turn to Page 2—SAVAGE TRIBE

## CAPITAL DAZED BY AL SMITH'S SNL

### Declines to Be Roosevelt Guest in Washington

By United Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30.—Official Washington was puzzled and cited today by the refusal of Alfred E. Smith to accept the hospitality of the White House.

Political interpretation of Smith's refusal of Mrs. Roosevelt's invitation to spend the night of Jan. 25 at the Roosevelts' guests was confused. White House invitations seldom declined.

Republicans saw Smith's refusal as indicating the "Happy War" would pitch his tent in the Republican camp in the 1936 presidential battle. Some Democrats saw it a little political significance.

Smith is coming to Washington to make the principal address before an American Liberty League meeting on Jan. 25. The League has been consistently hostile to the Roosevelt administration, and the meeting is expected to develop additional works.

The former New York governor and 1928 Democratic presidential nominee has been mildly critical of the New Deal. He has given no public indication of a change in attitude.

## Press-Scimitar Ind

Christmas in Toyland .....
Classified Ads .....
Cynthia Grey .....
Editorials .....
Financial .....
Gardens .....
Heywood Broun .....
John T. Flynn .....
Mrs. Walter Ferguson .....
Olive Roberts Barton .....
Press-Scimitar Pattern .....
Questions and Answers .....
Radio .....
Side Glances .....
Society, Club News .....
Sports .....
Strolling With Eldon Roark .....
Westbrook Pegler .....
"With All My Love" .....

## DELEGATES HEAR PAGE ATTACK WAR HORRORS

## "I Would Refuse to Fight," ... Pacifist Contends

## **"ETHIOPIA CANNOT WIN"**

## **Speaker Tells Methodist Young People He Believes Fate of Italy's Foe Rests With Great Britain**

More than 500 young people sought to find the answer to the question, "Why War Will Not Work," yesterday afternoon at group sections on "War and Peace" of the Methodist Young People's Conference, held at the Chisca.

Kirby Page, world traveler and interpreter of foreign affairs, was the featured speaker at the two group discussions. Page was introduced at one of the sections as "the man who has done more thinking in the field of war and peace than any other man in the country."

Mr. Page, a decided pacifist, was bombarded with numerous questions concerning his views on war and peace as the conference delegates turned the sessions into open forums.

## Calls World War Failure

Describing the World War as a failure, the speaker listed American objectives of safeguarding property, making the world safe for democracy, protecting life, assuring freedom of the seas, and waging a war to end war as goals that are yet to be obtained.

that are yet to be obtained.

Asked what attitude he would take in event of a future war, Mr. Page said: "I will take the same attitude as I did in the last war. I refuse to go to war."

The problem that seemed to puzzle most of the young people, that of action in event of an invasion of the United States by a foreign power, formed a heated topic for discussion.

Two aspects of approaching the subject were listed, religious and practical. The religious view was described as that of Christ's. If Christ had not taken the religious aspect in Palestine during occupation by the Romans, "you and I would never have heard of His name," Mr. Page said.

## **“Fate With Britain”**

In answer to a question concerning the Ethiopian problem, Mr. Page said: "Ethiopia can not win the war against Italy. The fate of that country is going to be destined by Great Britain."

The delegates voted unanimously that "war is not the best method of settling international differences." Twelve declined to agree that "regardless of what a nation does, war is unchristian."

Following the address by Mr. Page, the delegates reviewed the work of international peace organizations. Dr. Alva Taylor of the Vanderbilt University faculty addressed the delegates. He gave three reasons why the United States should remain out of the League of Nations: emotional reaction following the World War, regret for having entered the World War, and determination to keep out of European entanglements in the future.



Walter E. Vassar,  
leads the singing at the  
and his wife is the officiating

# Women to Without Soon

## Head of Council Gentler Sex Are Destinies of V

Changed concepts of c  
to propose to the man of h  
executive of the Internation  
eral hundred Methodist del  
of the discussion group on

The question arose when a woman introduced the topic, "Should women take advantage of men?"

"The idea of men proposing to women dates back to the earliest of man's superiority over woman," Dr. Hayward said. "Now they are taking part in national affairs and have a great part to play in determining the destinies of the world. It is apparent that before many years are over they will propose to the men of their choice without creating a furor."

A young man arose to say no reason why a woman should propose, if she happened to have a choice for a life mate.

"A man can reject a person  
same as women do now,  
"Many women are destined  
maids because of pressures."

Too much stress or  
tractions is one of  
causes of marriage  
according to Mr.  
of Chicago,  
known for

**New Year's Special**  
**\$6.95 PULL-UP CHAIR.**  
**\$3.95**  
**Jacobs Furniture Co.**  
**284 SOUTH MAIN ST.**

**Cheapest Coal In Town!**

Cheapest Coal In Town!  
**COAL--\$6.25**



# Memphis Pre

WEATHER: Rain tonight and Wednesday

56TH YEAR

MEMPHIS, TENN., TUESDAY, DEC.

## 'RESIST R. O. T. C., STUDENTS ADVISED BY PEACE LEADER

'If 400 or 500 Get Expelled for Refusing To Submit, Compulsory War Training Will End,' Dr. Page Says

### 'NO CHRISTIAN SHOULD MAKE WAR'

'Whole System of Compulsory Drilling In Schools Is Wrong,' Speaker Tells Methodist Young People

By JACK BRYAN, *Press-Scimitar Staff Writer*

Dr. Kirby Page, noted peace leader, advised the youth of the Southern Methodist Church last night to get themselves expelled from school by refusing to submit to compulsory R. O. T. C. if they wanted to get rid of it.

"If we had four or five hundred Christian students expelled from school by refusing to submit to compulsory R. O. T. C. if they wanted to get rid of it.

"If we had four or five hundred Christian students expelled for that reason," Dr. Page said, "we wouldn't have compulsory military training in our schools."

Dr. Page's advice, delivered to an audience of 5000, including students from many schools and colleges, came just after he had concluded an address calling for unswerving and complete devotion to peace as fundamental of Christian living.

#### Answer to Question

The statement was made in response to two questions sent to the platform by youth delegates who wanted to know what attitude the Christian student should take toward R. O. T. C.

"No Christian ought to engage in war," Dr. Kirby declared, "and therefore he should not engage in military training." In his speech he had just developed the thesis that participation in war of any kind by a Christian is untenable.

"The whole system of compulsory military training is un-Christian," he asserted, "and we should endeavor to get that system changed.

### NYE MADE HIS AUDIENCE GASP

Senator Gerald P. Nye made his audience gasp as he revealed stories about the munitions trade last night at the Auditorium, where he addressed 6000 at the Methodist Young People's Conference. Hundreds of young people crowded on the stage after the address to congratulate the North Dakota senator.

—Press-Scimitar Photo.



SENATOR NYE

### National Defense Will Be Issue If Borah Runs for President, Sen. Nye Predicts

## COSTLY GOODBYE TO DYING YEAR

New Year's Eve Celebrators Will Spend \$27,000 Making Merry

By CLARK PORTEOUS  
*Press-Scimitar Staff Writer*

The New Year will be welcomed tonight by 6650 Memphis merry-makers at a cost of more than \$27,000.

Those attending hotel and night club parties will spend an average of \$4.20 to bid the old year goodby.

Promises Bombshell When Morgan Test On Munitions-Banker Lineup—'U. S. Leading in Armaments Race'

By MARSHALL SMITH, *Press-Scimitar Staff Writer*

National defense will become an issue in the next presidential election if the Republican party picks as its candidate Senator William E. Borah of Idaho.

Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota made this prediction today at Hotel Peabody after addressing an enthusiastic 6000 at the Methodist Young People's Conference at the Auditorium last night.

The young-appearing Senator Nye was asked: "If Borah should be nominated, and you say you would support him, would you make national defense an issue in the presidential campaign?"

YOUTHS DECIDE WORLD ISSUE

conviction that war is a necessity. I do not believe that the R. O. T. C. officers want war, but most army men believe war is inevitable and therefore must be prepared for.

#### "Increases Military Spirit"

"The R. O. T. C. makes people believe that preparedness is necessary, and increases the military spirit. We must see it as a part of the whole war program."

In his address, Dr. Kirby had undertaken to show the impossibility of a Christian countenancing war.

"What is war?" he asked.

"War is a method. War is not the spirit of courage and sacrifice; it is not an objective nor a high and holy goal."

"War is a method whereby a nation does whatever is necessary and possible to bring victory."

What, he asked, was the most revolting atrocity resorted to by nations in the World War? He mentioned the story of a Canadian soldier being crucified to a barn door by bayonets, of the horror and loss of innocent lives in a submarine warfare.

#### "Blockade Worst Atrocity"

"But there are worse things than these in war. The worst atrocities were the ravages created by the Allied blockade, by which old men and women and children were starved to death by the hundreds and the thousands in Germany."

"You may be certain that any nation at war, if it can, will blockade the enemy. Therefore it is legitimate for a Christian to engage in a procedure which results in the wholesale starvation of men, women and children, irrespective of their guilt?"

If a war should occur between the United States and Japan, Dr. Turn to Page 3—WAR IS MURDER

## ROOSEVELT'S DUTCH? INSTITUTE SAYS SO

United Press

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 31.—Officials of Zeeland Provincial Institute of Tourist Traffic at Oudvossemeer today announced discovery of evidence that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's ancestors once lived at Oudvossemeer.

They have discovered that in 1649, 1651 Klaas Roosevelt and his wife, Jannetje, left there for the United States. The Roosevelt coat of arms was discovered in the local church and also on a chandelier presented by the Roosevelts in 1787. Investigations are continuing.

## Knowledge Test

Can you answer seven of these test questions? Turn to page 2

1. Who was Edward Jenner?
2. In which states does the Allegheny River flow?
3. Who wrote the poem, "Endymion?"
4. In Greek mythology, who was emeter?
5. How many stories has the RCA building in New York City?
6. Who was Kate Greenaway?
7. What country lies east of Urma?
8. Name the eleventh president of U. S.
9. Of which state is Santa Fe the capital?
10. Has the U. S. ever had a Roman Catholic for president?

and to enter in the new year merrily.

Members of the dancing crowd will pay out about \$16,000 in cover charges to attend the various public parties.

Guests must bring their own liquor. A conservative estimate has it that a pint of whisky will serve each three of the 6550 celebrants.

With the New Year revelers drinking liquor ranging from the dollar a pint variety to choice imported brands, it is estimated they will average paying \$1.50 a pint. This will make their liquor cost \$3275.

Practically places charge extra for set-ups, which include ice and chasers. With tips to hat check girls and others included, it is thought that the celebrators will average spending 50 cents on extras, as food comes separate at some of the places. This will cost the public an additional \$3275.

Memphis florists report more orders than they can fill, with orchids at \$5 each and higher leading the corsage, leading the corsage van. Many of the ladies will sport corsages tonight and a low estimate is that flowers will nick the purses of Memphis men at least \$5000.

It all adds up to \$27,550, and that does not include new clothes, automobile and parking expenses, cigarettes and other incidentals.

## WINTER'S SIX-DAY SIEGE IS BROKEN

### Mercury Above Freezing With Rains Forecast

Winter's six-day siege was believed broken today as the mercury rose above the freezing point.

Since the afternoon of Christmas Day the mercury had hovered below freezing, going as low as 14 degrees on one day. Temperatures dropped as low as 30 at 3 and 4 a.m. today, but at 9 a.m. it was rising again and had reached 33.

With rising temperatures Weatherman F. W. Brist forecast rains would follow and the mercury rise above 40.

His official prediction is: "Rain tonight and Wednesday, lowest temperature about 40."

River forecasts showed the falling Mississippi River was choked with floating ice between St. Louis and New Madrid, while ice was reported at all points on the Ohio.

## HELENA TO BUILD CITY AUDITORIUM

By Associated Press

HELENA, Ark., Dec. 31.—A committee of city officials and business men today approved the plans of a new municipal auditorium which is to be built at a cost of \$100,000 contingent upon approval of a \$55,000 bond issue by voters at a special election Jan. 6.

The bond issue would be matched with a \$45,000 PWA grant. The building would seat 1000 persons and provide a new city council chamber, municipal court and offices for city officials.

## Will Support Borah

"In the light of Senator Borah's sane record on the issue of national defense, I should be glad to support him and make that an issue which I suspect it would become," Senator Nye said.

Last night Senator Nye commented sharply on the administration's policy of large armaments and clearly stated that the profit should be taken out of munitions making. He said he was "unalterably opposed to the things being done in the name of national defense."

"If it is going to be the same old gang of conservative candidates and platform, I shall probably be found supporting Mr. Roosevelt," Senator Nye said. "I would do that with greater enthusiasm if it were not for his part in the armament race that has come up."

### Wants Liberal G. O. P.

"I have a large desire to see the Republican party adopt a more liberal viewpoint and look upon Borah as the man best qualified. If he fails to get the nomination, I hardly know what I am going to do."

Senator Nye arrived here at 7:30 last night. A squad of police officers met him at the airport and accompanied him to the Auditorium. Today the senator spent his time putting final touches on the neutrality bill which will be released for publication Monday. He left here at noon today by plane, intending to be back in Washington tonight.

It was in answering a question that Senator Nye lit the fuse for what may be a first-class noise-maker. Referring to the revelations of the Senate special committee investigating munitions, he said:

### Morgan to Take Stand

"You who think those things have been big, tremendous, I don't know what you will think of disclosures next week when Mr. Morgan and other bankers are put on the stand to answer questions as to their relations as bankers to the munition makers of the United States and those of the world at large."

While this was the only suggestion that there might be some tie-up between bankers and arms manufacturers, Senator Nye did not spare the munitions makers. He termed "this traffic in armaments an adulterated racket of the first magnitude," and called it "an international racket."

And President Roosevelt came in for a stinging attack from the man who supported him for president in 1932.

### Canadian Border Incident

Senator Nye brought in his criticism after referring to the 4000-mile Canadian border which has been without military defense for 100 years. The senator said that at an executive session of the House's Military Affairs Committee, officials of the War Department testified "behind closed doors to the need for an appropriation for establishing fortifications on the Canadian frontier."

"There was a leak," Senator Nye said. "The facts came out. Statesmen in Canada and Great Britain asked, 'What does this mean' and so strained did relations become that the commander-in-chief, the President, felt called upon to publish a statement."

"In this statement he said that these War Department officials were not speaking for the War Department."

Turn to Page 2—SEN. NYE LISTS

## Methodists Conference Today

### With Recommendations;

#### Finale Tonight

Recommendations on war and peace, economics and industry, race relations, marriage, the home, the church, will be given to Southern Methodism tonight from the conclusions drawn in group discussions at the Methodist Young People's Conference.

The four-day session of the conference, which more than 5000 delegates from the Pacific to the Atlantic and Maryland to Texas, have attended, will conclude with the Watch Night Service at the Auditorium tonight.

The highlight of the program and of the conference will be the recommendations given by the young people. Liberal-minded, enthusiastic, these young people have aired their views freely and unhampered by their leaders.

They are, for the most part, unitedly against alcohol.

They overwhelmingly have declared that war is wrong, the many have maintained they would fight in defensive warfare.

They have declared their intention of fighting the race prejudice against the negro.

They have decided there are many flaws in the present economic system.

They believe in the sanctity of marriage and the necessity of Christian life in the home.

The program tonight, which will begin at 8:30, will usher in the New Year. An address by Dr. Umphrey Lee of Dallas on "Shall Jesus Be Lord?" will be given before the recommendations.

Following the recommendations, made by 10 young people from the 10 areas of discussion, Bishop Paul B. Kern of Greensboro, N. C., will speak on "Facing Life With Jesus Christ." There will be a closing service of dedication.

## Famous Writers Give Their Views

Flight of the Lindbergh family to England today caused comment from the following Press-Scimitar writers:

**MRS. WALTER FERGUSON**, who declares that "a country unsafe for the Lindberghs is not safe for any mother's son."—Editorial Page.

With all the publicity given them in American newspapers, the Lindberghs are moving to a country where people are uncommonly morbid and curious about the private affairs of great people and especially their babies, notes **WESTBROOK PEGLER**, on page 5. After describing a mushy article in a British journal about the nursery in the Duke of Kent's home, Pegler asks whether "the Lindberghs have ever been asked to tolerate anything like this in the American press."

**FORREST DAVIS** reveals for the first time Lindbergh's constant efforts to escape publicity. Page 14.

In the ship while two uniforms. At 12:00 was delayed by officials. The door opened, a row Lincoln tailored a worried. She said of them cheer we.

Then a gangway, Lindbergh behind.

Jon, a woolen father tig face was bergh's s look at the. Several just returned Liverpool.

Turn to MAE'S AT Timony in

By United Press HOLLYWOOD West's Timony, a of "Ladies' arrest to an indece

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